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A SYLLABUS OF ROMAN HISTORY

BY

GEORGE WILLIS BOTSFORD

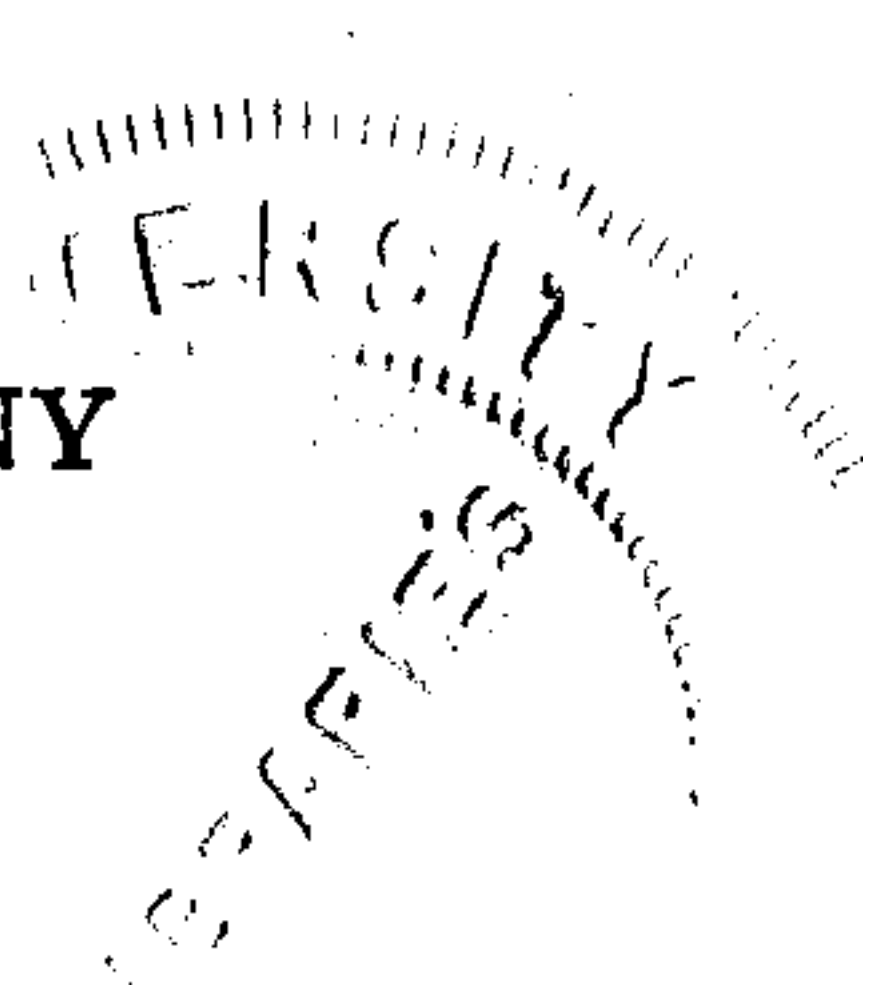
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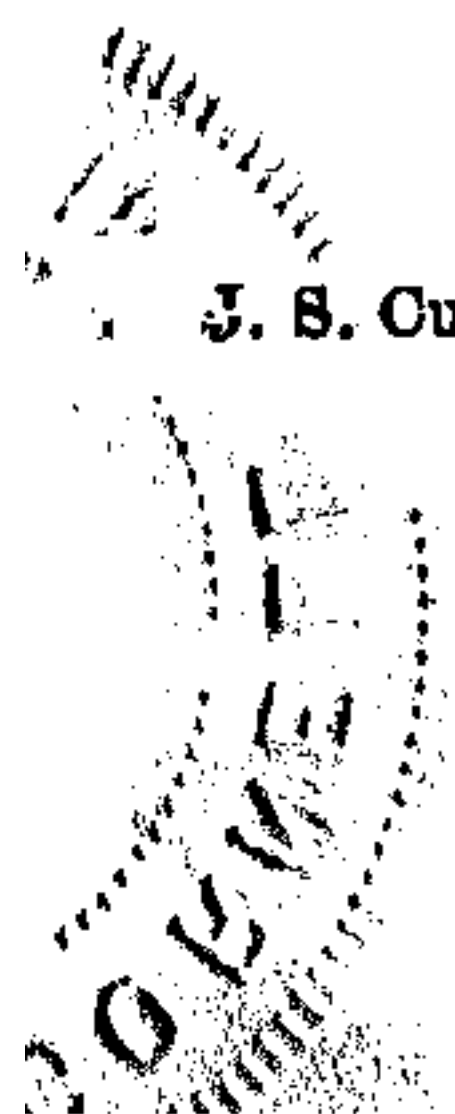
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PREFACE

THIS Syllabus, which has arisen from the needs of my own classroom, is offered to the public in the hope that it may prove useful to students of college and university grade in other institutions. Its aim is not to convey information but to present a scheme for the organization of the facts and ideas essential to a good knowledge of Roman history, whether obtained by lectures or by reading. The books recommended fairly cover the topics; so that, even without lectures, a student with the Syllabus and a few shelves of books may make himself substantially acquainted with the subject. For "brief review" I have preferred to recommend my own text-books because their plan and contents especially harmonize with the present outline. The most crying need of students of all grades is guidance in note-taking and in the preparation of papers — that is, in the art of studying. An attempt is made to meet this need in the directions given at the close of the outline. The careful following of every item of advice there offered will immeasurably heighten the prevalent standard of intellectual neatness of both college and university students.

Any suggestions for the correction or improvement of the Syllabus will be gratefully received.

GEORGE WILLIS BOTSFORD.

MOUNT VERNON, N. Y.,
September 1, 1915.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Am. Hist. Rev. = American Historical Review.
Am. Journ. Arch. = American Journal of Archæology.
Botsford, Anc. W. = History of the Ancient World (Macmillan).
Greece = History of Greece (Macmillan).
Rome = History of Rome (Macmillan).
Rom. Assemb. = Roman Assemblies to the End of the Republic (Macmillan).
Source-Book = Source-Book of Ancient History (Macmillan).
Story of Rome = Story of Rome as Greeks and Romans tell it (Macmillan).
Carter, Religious Life = Religious Life of Ancient Rome (Houghton Mifflin).
CIL. = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
Class. Rev. = Classical Review.
Duruy, Rome = History of Rome and of the Roman People (Jewett, Boston).
Eng. Hist. Rev. = English Historical Review.
(Eng.) Journ. Philol. = (English) Journal of Philology.
Fowler, Religious Experiences = Religious Experiences of the Roman People (Macmillan).
Frank, Rom. Imp. = Roman Imperialism (Macmillan).
Gibbon, Decline = Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.
Hist. Zeitschr. = Historische Zeitschrift.
How and Leigh, Rome = History of Rome (Longmans).
Lanciani, Ruins and Excavations = Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome (Houghton Mifflin).
Meyer, Gesch. d. Alt. = Geschichte des Altertums.
Modestov, Introduction = Introduction à l'histoire romaine.
Niese, Röm. Gesch. = Grundriss der römischen Geschichte (4th ed., Munich, 1910).

Pelham, Outlines = Outlines of Roman History (Putnam).

Platner, Top. and Mon. = Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome (Allyn and Bacon).

Pol. = Polybius.

Pol. Sci. Quart. = Political Science Quarterly.

P. W. = Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, revised by Wissowa; later vols. by Kroll and Witte. References are to the *Erste Reihe*.

A SYLLABUS OF ROMAN HISTORY

SYLLABUS OF ROMAN HISTORY

CHAPTER I

Feb. 11

COUNTRY AND PEOPLE

I. Introductory; the Mediterranean basin; its unity; the sphere of ancient history. Origin of Græco-Oriental civilization; debt of Italy to Greece; relative freshness and virility of the Italian people.

II. Peninsular character; situation and form; contrasts with Greece. The Apennines, rivers, and harbors; 'facing the West.'

III. Influence of the Alps and of the water barriers; accessibility and consequent immigrations; great racial complexity; obstacles to political unity.

IV. The people continental and agricultural as opposed to maritime, commercial, and industrial; great variety of soil and climate; products.

V. The function of Rome; political unification; supremacy in Mediterranean basin; effects of geography on conquests and administration; relation to East and West respectively; modification and extension of Hellenic civilization.

READING

I. ENVIRONMENT AND PEOPLE. — Botsford, *Rome*, ch. i; *Anc. W.*, ch. xxviii; *Story of Rome*, 14-17; *Source-Book*, 326-32; Duruy, *Rome*, ch. i (good); Article 'Italy,' in *Encycl. Brit.* (11th

ed.); Van Buren, A., 'The Geography of Italy,' in *Class. Journ.* VIII (1912-13) 287-92, 327-40; Kiepert, H., *Manual of Anc. Geography*, ch. ix (detailed).

Philippson, A., *Das Mittelmeergebiet* (2d. ed., Leipzig, 1907), see 'Italien,' 'Italiener,' in Index; Nissen, H., *Italische Landeskunde*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1883, 1902), country, people, and cities in great detail.

II. TRAVEL AND LANDSCAPE. — Baedeker, K., *Northern Italy; Central Italy and Rome; Southern Italy and Sicily* (new eds. constantly, Scribner); *The Macmillan Guide to Italy and Sicily*; Gissing, G., *By the Ionian Sea* (Scribner); Richardson, R. B., *Vacation Days in Greece*, 173-207 (tour in Sicily); Paton, W. A., *Picturesque Sicily* (Harper); Geike, A., *Love of Nature among the Romans*, etc. (London: Murray, 1912).

CHAPTER II

SOURCES FOR EARLY ROMAN HISTORY

I. 1. Now extant for the period before the opening of the third century B.C.: Histories of Livy, Dionysius, and Diodorus; Cicero, *De Republica*; Plutarch, *Lives*, and occasional references throughout Roman literature; see also ch. IX, Reading I.

2. No contemporary history; extant histories composed 500 years or more after the close of the regal period, 509 B.C.

a. Untrustworthiness of Roman history prior to the Gallic conflagration (390); Livy vi. 1.

b. Falsifications of early history; Livy viii. 40. 4; *cf.* iv. 16. 3; xxii. 31. 8; Cicero, *Brutus*, 16. 62; see further Ihne, W., *Early Rome*, ch. ii; *History of Rome*, I. chs. i-xii; Pais, E., *Ancient Legends of Roman History*, see Contents.

II. Use of writing in regal period and early Republic.

1. Obtained from Cumæ, settled about 750 B.C.

2. Came to Etruscans perhaps 700; inscription in tomb at Cære, about 650.

3. Latin inscription on Prænestine gold pin somewhat later (Körte, in P. W. VI. 752) ; Duenos inscription (Egbert, *Latin Inscriptions*, 16, 346 f.) early but date less certain.

4. Mention of a treaty on oxhide (Dionys. iv. 58); treaty on bronze pillar (iv. 26). Treaty between Rome and Carthage *notes* (Pol. iii. 22, about 500?); later treaties. Forum inscription, fifth or fourth century. Writing exceedingly rare before 400; afterward gradually increases.

5. The Fasti (collected, *CIL*. I. 1, second ed.); wide difference of opinion as to reliability.

6. Laws; the Twelve Tables; Orations, from about 300.

7. Convivial songs, containing little historical matter.

8. Family inscriptions, funeral laudations, etc.; full of fictions and exaggerations.

III. Greek historiography relating to Rome.

1. References to Italy in Greek poets, as Hesiod, Stesichorus.

2. Interest of Cumæans and Syracusans in Rome: (a) Antiochus, *Sicilian and Italian Affairs*; in a position to know something of later regal period. (b) Timæus. Increasing attention to Roman affairs.

IV. Roman historiography.

1. Pontifical annals, development from the Fasti; afterward edited as *Annales Maximi*.

2. Fabius Pictor, about 200 B.C.; L. Cincius Alimentus; material and method; see further ch. X. § v. 6. g.

V. Archæology and topography.

1. Great abundance of material gathered in the museums, beginning with palæolithic age.

2. Sites of ancient settlements; walls, houses, tombs, etc.

3. Topography as a source of history; *e.g.*, invaluable for the growth of Rome; see ch. VI.

VI. Survivals of conditions, institutions, and ideas; the Romans remarkably conservative.

READING

I. SOURCE COLLECTIONS. — Peter, H., *Historicorum romanorum reliquiae*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1870, 1906), fragments of the annalists and of the lost historians; Munro, D. C., *Source-Book of Roman History* (Heath); Botsford, *The Story of Rome as Greeks and Romans tell It* (Macmillan); *Source-Book of Ancient History* (Macmillan). For other sources, see Reading at the close of the various chapters.

II. CRITICISM. — Among the earliest attempts at criticism is Beaufort, L. de, *A Dissertation upon the Uncertainty of Roman History during the First Five Hundred Years*. From the French (1740). Systematic criticism has its origin with Niebuhr, B. G., *Römische Geschichte*, 3 vols. (beginning 1811); English translation (Philadelphia, 1844). More recent is Ihne, *Early Rome*, ch. ii; *History of Rome*, I. chs. i–xii; Pais, E., *Ancient Legends of Roman History*, see Contents; *Storia Critica di Roma*, I (Rome, 1913); Soltau, W., *Die Anfänge der römischen Geschichtschreibung* (Leipzig, 1909); De Sanctis, G., *Storia dei Romani* (Torino, 1907), I. ch. i, accepts more than Pais and Soltau.

14. The Rome under the Kings

CHAPTER III

THE STONE, BRONZE, AND EARLY-IRON AGES

To about 800 B.C.

I. Palæolithic age.

1. Remains chiefly in Liguria; sparser elsewhere.

2. No houses, domestic animals, or pottery; rough tools and arms of bone, horn, and unpolished stone; cave-dwellers; clothing of skins. Peet, *Stone and Bronze Ages*, ch. i;

Modestov, *Introduction*, ch. i; Munro, R., *Palæolithic Man and Terramara Settlements in Europe* (London, 1912).

3. Artistic character; shown chiefly by natives of France.

II. Neolithic age, to about 2500 B.C.

1. Great gap between I and II. Neoliths probably invaders; 'Mediterranean race.' Sergi, G., *Mediterranean Race* (London, 1901), ch. ix.

2. Polished stone implements; domestic animals and crude pottery; cave-dwellings; cabins grouped in villages; burial of dead with food, tools, and ornaments.

3. Greater advance in S. Italy and Sicily; commerce with Ægean region; painted pottery.

4. Probable immigrations during the age; assimilation of invaders and natives. Peet, *Stone and Bronze Ages*, chs. ii-vii; Modestov, *Introduction*, chs. ii, iii.

III. Bronze age, about 2500-2000 B.C.

1. Use of copper extends from Egypt and Cyprus to Europe; the æneolithic (stone and copper) age, 2500-2000 B.C.

2. Copper brought to Italy by Indo-European immigrants from Switzerland; stone industry now most highly developed; settlements in Lombardy; lake-villages.

3. Indo-European immigrants from basin of Danube into lower Po valley bring use of bronze, about 2000 B.C.

a. Lake-dwellings north of Po.

b. Terremare south of Po; plan of Terramara; cemeteries; incineration; skill in surveying, engineering; farmers; grains and vegetables; linens and woolens; pottery and implements.

c. Native hut-dwellings; gradual assimilation; abandonment of Terremare, about 1000 B.C. The Italic a blend of the two peoples.

4. Migration of Italic —

(a) To Latium. (b) To Etruria and Umbria. (c) Their

blending with natives produces the Latins and Umbrians. Sabellians 'colonists' of Umbrians.

5. S. Italy and Sicily little touched by these movements; contact with Mycenæan area; noteworthy progress in culture.

6. Decline of bronze civilization; general impoverishment. Modestov, *Introduction*, chs. iii, iv.

IV. Early-Iron Age, about 1000-800 B.C.; called Villanova after one of its chief sites.

1. Beginnings inferior to bronze culture; geometric style; gradual improvement.

2. S. Italy and Sicily; introduction of iron culture from Ægea area.

READING

This subject is not represented in the general histories of Rome accessible in English. For a brief treatment see Jones, H. S., Companion to Roman History, 1-12. The best monograph is Peet, T. E., Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily, see Contents; for questions of origin, race, and connections, chs. vii, xviii, xix. See also Modestov, B., Introduction à l'histoire romaine, pt. I. For the early-iron age, see Peet, 'Early Iron Age in South Italy,' in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, IV (1907), 283-96; Montelius, O., *Les débuts de l'âge du fer*; Grenier, A., *Bologne villanovienne et étrusque* (Paris, 1912), see Contents.

Montelius, *Die älteren Kulturperioden im Orient und in Europa* (Stockholm, 1903), is a useful explanation of the elements of pre-history. His *Civilisation primitive en Italie depuis l'introduction des métaux*, I, II. 1-5 (Stockholm, 1895-1910), is an exhaustive presentation of the subject through illustrations of all the known objects belonging to the age covered by the work. See further De Sanctis, G., *Storia dei Romani*, I. chs. ii-v. Scala, R. von, 'Die Anfänge geschichtlichen Lebens in Italien,' in *Hist. Zeitschr.* CVIII (1912). 1-37, is suggestive.

Principal Sources

CHAPTER IV

THE PHŒNICIANS, GREEKS, AND ETRUSCANS

To about 500 B.C.

I. Phœnician colonization.

1. Decline of Minoan supremacy, about 1200 B.C.; beginning of Phœnician voyages to western Mediterranean; trading posts.

2. Settlements in northern Africa; Iberia; Atlantic coast; western Sicily.

3. Carthage, founded about 800 B.C.

a. Trading post; favorable situation; becomes great commercial city.

b. Naval power for defense against Greeks; begins building maritime empire (650); Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica (600); whole African coast west of Cyrene (before 500); 'closed-door' policy for her empire.

c. Government; two annual suffetes; council of nobles; popular assembly. A commercial aristocracy. Generalship an added office; held by Mago (later sixth century); creation of a great mercenary army.

II. Greek colonization.

1. Causes: over-population; desire for trade; political unrest; spirit of adventure.

2. Chalcidic colonies; the mother-city; trade with Campania (beginning 850).

a. Pithecussæ. *b.* Cumæ; situation and soil; activities; temple of Apollo a center of culture; influence on Rome.

c. Naples, Rhegium, Zancle (Messana), Himera.

3. Achæan colonies; Sybaris and Croton; fertility, wealth, and refinement. Posidonia (partly Achæan); its temple to Poseidon.

4. Locrian colony : Locri ; Zaleucus and the first European law code.

5. Dorian colonies : Tarentum ; situation, activities, and culture ; Syracuse and Acragas in Sicily.

6. Commerce with the homeland and with the natives ; spread of Hellenic civilization ; town-planning ; useful and fine arts and literature.

7. Myth-making ; the wanderings of Greek heroes and connections with native Italians ; descent of native peoples from Greeks or Trojans.

III. Etruscan colonization.

1. The Tyrseni (Tyrrheni), a people of western Asia Minor and adjacent islands ; culture from Mycenæans, Asia Minor, and Babylonia.

2. Migration to Italy, about 800 ; chiefs with retainers ; supremacy over natives ; blending of races ; prevalence of Tyrsenian language and culture ; result the Etruscans.

3. Social classes : (*a*) aristocracy ; gens and lineage ; wealth ; political methods. (*b*) Dependent masses. (*c*) Slaves.

4. Religion : (*a*) monopoly of the nobles ; sacred books, divination, deities native and borrowed. (*b*) Temples. (*c*) Tombs and burial customs ; games.

5. House and furniture ; dress and adornment ; position of women ; social customs.

6. The city : founding, ritual, and plan ; fortifications — various kinds of masonry ; drainage ; extant remains.

7. Fine arts : architecture (*cf.* 4), painting, statuary, vases, etc.

8. The army ; phalanx from the Greeks ; horsemen.

9. Leagues of cities.

10. Commercial and political relations with Carthage ; conflict with the Greeks, 540.

11. Transmission of civilization from Greece to Rome.

READING

I. PHŒNICIAN COLONIZATION. — Mommsen, *History of Rome*, I. 177-9, 196-9; Smith, *Rome and Carthage*, ch. i; Meyer, E., *Geschichte des Altertums*, II. 689 ff.; De Sanctis, G., *Storia dei Romani*, I. 327 ff.; Pync, J., 'Phœnicians and their Voyages,' in *National Quarterly Review*, XXXII. 123-34; Duruy, *Rome*, ch. xix; Meltzer, O., *Geschichte der Karthager*, I. chs. i-iv.

II. GREEK COLONIZATION. — Botsford, *Greece*, 30-40; *Anc. W.* 105-8; *Hellenic Civilization*, ch. iii; Bury, *History of Greece*, ch. ii. §§ 3-4; Holm, *History of Greece*, I. ch. xxi; Abbott, *History of Greece*, I. 342-8; Mommsen, bk. I. ch. x.

Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, I (2d ed., 1912). 229 ff.; De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, I. ch. ix.

III. ETRUSCANS. — Botsford, *Anc. W.*, 319-22; *Story of Rome*, 18 f.; Carter, *Religious Life*, ch. i; Körte and Skutsch, 'Etrusker,' in *P. W.* VI. 730-806; Modestov, B., *L'Introduction à l'histoire romaine*, pt. II; Grenier, A., *Bologne villanovienne et étrusque*, see Contents; Harmon, A. M., 'Paintings of the Grotto Campana,' in *Am. Journ. Arch.* CVI (1912). 1-10.

CHAPTER V Text 2/30

SETTLEMENTS OF THE LATINS

I. The Latins a blend of Italic invaders with natives (cf. ch. III iii. 4. c.).

II. Villages on hilltops, rudely fortified; cultivation of surrounding valleys and plains; underground drainage. De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, I. 177; Platner, *Top. and Mon.*, 13 f.

III. Growth of cities, as Alba Longa, Aricia, Rome, Gabii, Tibur, Præneste.

1. Organization of city in tribes and curiæ.

2. Government: dictator, king, or other magistrate; senate (council of elders); assembly of people.

IV. Latin league; survival of organization of Latin populus.

1. Capital, Alba Longa; afterward Rome.
2. Organization in 30 voting groups (curiæ?), afterward controlled by the cities.
3. Religion; Latin festival at Alba; Jupiter Latiaris.
4. Government: dictator or other magistrate; council of principes; assembly.

READING

I. BRIEF REVIEW. — Botsford, *Rome*, 4-7; *Anc. W.*, 317 f.; *Story of Rome*, 19-21; *Source-Book*, 329-31.

II. MORE DETAILED. — Mommsen, *History of Rome*, bk. I. ch. iii, theory of 'clan villages,' and fortified refuge (oppidum) antiquated; Ashby, Th., 'Alba Longa,' in (Eng.) *Journ. Philol.* XXVII (1901). 37-50; Modestov, *Introduction*, pt. I. ch. vi, ethnology and early civilization; De Sanctis, I. 176-83; Rosenberg, A., *Der Staat der alten Italiker* (Berlin, 1913), up to date.

CHAPTER VI

GROWTH OF EARLY ROME

To 509 B.C.

I. Sparse evidence of habitation before the iron age, 1000 B.C. The village epoch: contemporaneous villages on the hilltops; pagus (canton) territory of village; local government under government of Latin populus.

II. The Palatine city. City develops from village under favoring conditions.

1. Central location; defensibility; bridge across Tiber; Cermalus, Palatium, Velia, three quarters (montes).

2. Religious institutions localized: Caca, Cacus; Lupercal (Lupercalia); Parilia or Palilia, shepherd's festival; hut and cherry tree of Romulus; remains of temple (seventh or sixth

century; Pinza, *Monumenti antichi*, XV. 787); ritual of founding; pomerium and mundus.

3. Original wall; remains of later walls; 3 gates; 'Roma Quadrata.'

4. Political institutions: tribes and curiæ('curiæ veteres'); fornicalia; king, senate, and assembly.

5. Social condition and occupations; shepherds and farmers; rude round hut (*cf.* hut urn) and cattle pen; crude furniture, implements, etc.; *cf.* ch. II iv. 1.

III. Septimontium. Doubted by some scholars, as Carter, in *Am. Journ. Arch.* XII (1908). 172-83; maintained by Huelsen, Platner, and others.

1. Formed by annexing to Palatine the Esquiline (Oppius, Fagutal, Cispius) and Sucusa (on Cælian), making 7 'montes.'

2. Festival of Septimontium.

3. Forum cemetery, ninth to sixth century; transition from incineration to inhumation under Etruscan influence.

IV. 'City of the Four Regions,' beginning about 550 B.C.

1. Quirinal and Viminal hills annexed. Quirinal had long been settled; Capitolium Vetus; temple of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; remains of early temples.

2. Character of enlarged city: straggling villages on hill-tops; marshes between; drainage; Cloaca Maxima and Cloacina.

3. Forum; temple of Vesta and Atrium Vestæ, Regia; temple of Saturn and Ærarium; 'Tomb of Romulus' and Lapis Niger. *see above.*

4. Shops and guilds; Vicus Tuscus and Vicus Jugarius.

5. Comitium; Curia Hostilia, senaculum, Vulcanal, Carcer² and appeal to assembly; temple of Janus. *near curia.*

6. Sororium Tigillum and the purification of the army.

7. Chapels of the Argei.

8. The four regions (city tribes) and the rural tribes; the

new edition 32-57; Huelsen, Ch., *Roman Forum*, translated by Carter, J. B. (Stechert, 1909), 1-8, 222-9 (Forum cemetery); Pais, E., *Storia critica di Roma*, bk. III. ch. xiii; Pinza, G., 'Monumentî primitivi di Roma e del Lazio antico,' in *Monumenti antichi*, XV (1905), a detailed tentative construction from the material gathered to date of publication. Carter, J. B., 'Roma Quadrata and the Septimontium,' in *Am. Journ. Arch.* XII (1908). 172-83, opposes the traditional view that the unification proceeded from the Palatine.

II. HEADSHIP OF LATIN LEAGUE. — Botsford, *Rome*, 36 f.; Reid, J. S., *Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, 40 ff.

Text to p. 42

CHAPTER VII

GOVERNMENT, RELIGION, AND SOCIETY OF EARLY ROME

- I. King, prototype of republican magistrate, holder of —
1. Auspicium, right to communicate with the gods.
 2. Imperium, power: military, civil (including judicial); derived territorial meaning of imperium.

II. Senate, council of elders, patres, the more powerful men of community. Functions: (1) advisory (consultum); (2) filling interregnum.

III. Assembly, contio, concilium; comitia curiata.

1. Election of king; lex curiata de imperio.

2. Beginnings of legislation: (a) customary law; (b) resolutions of assembly proposed by magistrate.

Little activity during regal period.

IV. Army: (1) original organization in tribes and curiæ; (2) introduction of phalanx from Etruria; horse and foot.

V. Religion.

1. Principal gods and shrines; see ch. VI. Fowler, *Religious Experiences*, lects. vi, vii.

2. Survivals of totemism, taboo, and magic. Fowler, lects. ii, iii.

3. Family worship. Fowler, lect. iv.

4. Calendar; ritual. Fowler, lects. v, viii, ix.

5. Pontiffs and augurs. Fowler, lects. xii, xiii; Botsford, *Roman Assemblies*, ch. v.

Start ch I.

READING

I. BRIEF. — Botsford, *Rome*, 27-9, 32; *Anc. W.*, 332-5; *Story of Rome*, 33, 39-44; *Source-Book*, 334-46; Munro, *Source-Book*, ch. ii.

II. MORE DETAILED. — Carter, *Religion of Numa*, 1-103; *Religious Life*, chs. i, ii; Fowler, see topics above; Wissowa, G., *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (second ed., Munich, 1912), see Contents.

VI. Society.

1. The gens, association of persons claiming descent from common ancestor, real or fictitious. The richer are more able to keep up relations of kinship and thus to form gentes; imitated by the poor. The Twelve Tables (*cf.* ch. VIII. v. 3).

recognize all citizens, patrician and plebeian, as members of gentes. — Informal organization; customs; cemetery; political influence.

2. Heads of powerful gentes become senators, patres.

3. Social classes.

a. Patricians, originally members of senatorial families; gradually form a practically closed caste. Monopolize the offices and priesthods; become the governing class; claim close relationship with gods; economic profit.

b. Plebeians, the masses; personally free; vote in assemblies; debarred from offices and priesthods.

c. Clients, those plebeians who for protection have attached themselves to individual patricians as patrons; hereditary relation; mutual rights and obligations.

d. Slaves, few in early Rome.

4. Liberality in granting the citizenship (and patriciate) to aliens; forcing it upon some.

5. Dwelling: (*a*) primitive round hut; (*b*) later, the atrium; alleged introduction from Asia Minor through Etruria; furniture, dress, and adornments.

1. Middle and lower class probably represented by Forum cemetery (before 550).

2. King and nobles represented by the chamber tombs of Etruria and one at Præneste.

6. Occupations: shepherds and farmers; artisans and merchants; probably a few native importers from Etruria and the Greeks; Etruscan tradesmen (Vicus Tuscus) and probably Greek tradesmen in Rome.

READING

Botsford, *Rome*, 21-36; *Anc. W.*, 328-32; *Roman Assemblies* (Macmillan, 1909), ch. ii; 'Some problems connected with the Roman gens,' in *Pol. Sci. Quart.* XXXII (1907). 663-92; Frank, T., *Roman Imperialism*, 5-7; Niese, *Röm. Gesch.* 39-42; Duruy,

Rome, ch. v; Oliver, E. H., *Roman Economic Conditions* (Toronto, 1907), 1-28, a useful work, though it exaggerates the amount of industry and commerce of early Rome; Pais, E., *Storia critica di Roma*, bk. III. chs. xiv-xviii, very valuable.

Sept ch V.

CHAPTER VIII

THE REPUBLIC FROM ITS FOUNDING TO THE END OF THE DECEMVIRAL LEGISLATION

Conventional dates, 509-449 B.C.

I. Founding of Republic. The Fasti, enlarged by fictitious names and reduplications, reach back to 509; the true date doubtless later.

1. Probable reaction of the nobility (senate) against the despotic rule of the Tarquins.

2. King becomes mere priest — rex sacrorum — appointed by pontifex maximus; title without power.

3. Two consuls with equal power take place of king; elected annually by comitia centuriata; power limited by right of appeal.

4. Dictator (Latin institution), with absolute power, occasional office; master of horse.

5. Minor officials: quæstors; duumviri perduellioni iudicandæ.

6. Senate gains by fall of kings; number normally 300.

7. Comitia centuriata, a new assembly. Composition, organization, and functions; elective, legislative, judicial.

8. Comitia curiata, gradually declines; confirmation of elections; of adrogations.

II. Foreign relations. Various events mentioned below are either rejected outright by some modern scholars or placed at a later date.

1. First treaty with Carthage (Pol. iii. 22), 509 B.C.

Placed in 348 (Diod. xvi. 69) by Mommsen; earlier date maintained by Ed. Meyer, Frank, *Rom. Imp.* 26, and others. Recognizes Roman headship of Latium as far as Tarracina; Carthaginian trade with Rome and Latium.

2. Revolt of Latins; mythical battle of Lake Regillus, 496 or 499 B.C.

3. Cassian treaty with Latins, 493; attempt to transfer it to fourth century (Frank, *Rom. Imp.* 28, n. 23). Terms; Dionys. vi. 95.

4. Naval battle off Cumæ, 474; decline of Etruscans.

5. Wars with Sabines, Æquians, and Volscians; unfortunate for Rome and Latium. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.* V. 133; Beloch, *Der italische Bund*, ch. ix; Botsford, *Rome*, 38-42; *Anc. W.*, 253 f.; Pelham, *Outlines*, 68-71.

III. Political struggles.

1. Great democratic movement among Greeks (after 480). Rome in close touch with Cumæ, Naples, Syracuse; borrowing of cultural elements and probably of political methods. Pais, *Anc. Italy*, chs. xx, xxi.

2. Patrician oppression at Rome, political and economic; ravaging of fields by enemy; impoverishment of plebeians; famine and importation of grain from Sicily, used by patricians for keeping plebeians dependent (Livy ii. 34; Dionys. vii. 1. 2; Plutarch, *Coriolanus*, 16); harsh law of debt.

3. Alleged secession of plebs; institution of plebeian tribunes (conventional date, 493); increase from 2 to 10; persons sacred; right to convoke plebs and pass resolutions.

4. Two plebeian ædiles (493); care of plebeian archives in temple of Ceres (Zonaras vii. 15; cf. Livy iii. 55. 13); assistants of tribunes; acquire care of markets, streets, etc.; police jurisdiction.

5. Comitia tributa; composition, organization, and limited functions, 47-449. Botsford, *Rom. Assemb.* ch. xii.

IV. Compilation of the Twelve Tables.

1. Alleged struggle for written laws, 463–52.
2. Election of decemviri legibus scribundis with full powers of government and codification for 451; suspension of the ordinary government; renewal of board for 450; continues into 449.
3. Existing laws are customary; 'laws of the kings;' a few statutes.
4. Embassy to the Greeks (Dionys. x. 54; *cf.* Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 27; Pliny, *N. H.* viii. 24. 4; Pais, *Anc. Italy*, 331 f.).
5. Origins of Twelve Tables; customary law and Greek law modified and supplemented by enactments of the decemvirs.
6. Ratified by comitia centuriata, 449.
7. Highly probable that various so-called laws of Twelve Tables belong to later date.

V. Life as reflected in Twelve Tables.

1. The family agnatic, kinship through males only; adoption and emancipation of sons; marriage of daughters.
 - a. Religion, necessary to perpetuate.
 - b. Patria potestas, absolute and lifelong.
 - c. Property under control of pater; peculium and dowry; curator of imbecile or spendthrift father.
 - d. Inheritance, including debts and duty of maintaining religion; testament; intestate succession.
 - e. Women;
 1. Always dependent, on father, husband (in manu), guardian.
 2. Forms of marriage and their peculiarities; coemptio, usus, confarreatio.
 3. Trial of offending wife; ius osculi; divorce; emancipation without divorce.

4. Place of wife in household; uxor, matrona, mater-familias.

2. Agnati, near kin, through males only.

a. Degrees of kin; determine rights and duties.

b. Inheritance and guardianship.

3. Gens, includes all citizens. Failing agnati, the gentiles inherit, appoint guardians, etc.

4. Social classes.

a. Prohibition of intermarriage between patres and plebeians; Livy iv. 4. 5; Cicero, *Rep.* ii. 36. 37. Patres means patricians (Dionys. x. 60); or senators (Gaius, in *Digest*, L. 16. 238).

b. Distinction between landowner and proletarian; advantage of latter.

c. Distinction between citizen and alien; advantage of former.

d. Freedmen; right of inheritance and testament; in failure of testament and heirs, patron inherits; better treated than in later time.

e. Slaves, few; liberation facilitated.

f. Sanates and forcti, meaning obscure.

5. Property and business: (*a*) Res Mancipi and nec Mancipi. (*b*) Contracts. (*c*) Legis actiones. (*d*) Associations.

6. Torts and crimes. Finable and capital cases; retaliation.

7. Public law.

a. Right of appeal in capital cases; laws affecting the caput may be passed only by the comitiatus maximus (comitia centuriata or curiata?).

b. Whatever the people vote last shall be law and valid.

8. Sacred law; regulation of funerals; sumptuary provisions.

9. Roman character as reflected in these laws: narrow, prosaic, without mercy or magnanimity; high sense of justice; remarkable degree of legal equality.

Text and interpretation of the Twelve Tables: Girard, P. F., *Textes de droit romain* (3d ed., Paris, 1903), 9-23; Bruns, C. G., *Fontes iuris romanī* (7th ed., Tübingen, 1909), pt. I. 15-40; Clark, E. C., *History of Roman Private Law* (Cambridge, 1906), I. 20-23; Walton, F. P., *Historical Introduction to the Roman Law* (2d ed., London, 1912); De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, II. 65-88.

VI. Valerian-Horatian laws, 449 B.C.

1. Restoration of the normal constitution with appropriate guarantees.

2. A resolution of the comitia tributa, composed of plebeians and patricians (Dionys. xi. 45. 3), under tribunician presidency, obtains, with the senate's consent, the force of law; lex and plebi scitum (plebiscite) distinguished. Botsford, *Roman Assemblies*, 274-80.

Source Book 346-353

The political struggle and constitutional development: Botsford, *Rome*, 66-79; *Anc. W.*, 339-45; *Rom. Assemb.* ch. xii (growth of the tribunate); Abbott, F. F., *Roman Political Institutions*, 24-31; Pelham, *Outlines*, 45-59.

Text ch. IV. Make outline of war

CHAPTER IX

EXPANSION OF THE ROMAN SUPREMACY OVER ITALY

449-264 B.C.

I. Political condition of Italy about 450: multitude of little warring states (city-states and cantonal states); fortified cities; insecurity of life and property; slow progress of civilization; diversity of nationalities and languages, and its consequences.

II. Steps in the unification of Italy.

1. Desperate condition of Latium and Rome under Volscian and Æquian invasions (*cf.* ch. VIII. ii. 5).

2. Institution of censorship and reform of army (443); five classes; increased efficiency (Livy i. 43; Niese, *Röm.*

Gesch. 62 f.; Botsford, *Rom. Assemb.* 66); military tribunes with consular power; two quæstorships instituted for army (421).

3. Development of mercenary service in Carthage and among Greeks; Rome institutes pay for military service (406).

4. Battle of Mount Algidus, 431; Latium won by Rome, 431-06.

5. Conquest of Veii, 396; Gallic invasion, 390; new fortifications of Rome.

6. The Latin war; dissolution of Latin league, 338.

7. The three Samnite wars, 343-1, 326-04, 298-90; war with Tarentum, 281-72.

III. Rome's foreign policy.

1. Her theory that all her wars are defensive; the fetial institution; real or assumed aggressions by other states.

2. Dense and increasing population; desire for land and booty.

3. Aristocracy based in part on military success; desire for individual or family glory.

4. Treatment of disaffection, treaty-breaking, and rebellion.

a. Desolation of fields, burning of towns; enslavement of population (*cf.* Livy vi. 31. 8; vii. 27).

b. Appropriation of one third, a half, two thirds, or all the land. (1) Amount not stated; Livy i. 15; ii. 25, 45; Dionys. ii. 16. (2) One half; Dio Cass. Frag. 33 (Bois-sevain, I. p. 138). (3) Two thirds; Livy ii. 41. All; Livy ii. 27.

c. Punishment for violation of embassy (Livy vii. 19).

5. Treatment of conquered.

a. Formula of surrender (Livy i. 38).

b. In earlier time, destruction of conquered city, removal of inhabitants to Rome; made citizens.

c. Later, perpetual treaty with isopolity (mutual rights of izenship); Gabii the first example (Dionys. iv. 58. 3; Varro, *L.L.* v. 33); developing into —

d. The municipium (municipality).

e. Looser alliances.

V. Organization of the Roman supremacy over Italy —
Roman-Italian league.

A. The Romans: *i.* at Rome; *ii.* in the municipia.

1. Municipia sine suffragio. Cære first known example; treaty for a hundred years (Livy vii. 20. 8), original basis for this condition.

a. Status determined by a constitutive law (*lex data*).

b. Magistrates, senate, and assembly.

c. Local laws administered by local magistrates; Roman laws by prætor or his representative prefect.

d. Independent financial administration.

e. Religion under communal control.

f. *Municipes* (citizens of municipium) not in Roman tribes; military service in their own detachments.

g. Generally private rights (*commercium* and *connubium*) at Rome, but not public rights (*ius suffragi* and *ius honorum*).

2. Municipia with fullest rights (*optimo iure*).

h. *Municipes* belong to tribes and have full public and private rights at Rome.

3. Fewer local rights. Under jurisdiction of Roman prætor; financial administration under Roman censors; religion under the pontiffs, etc.

4. Roman colonies. A colony, composed of 300 Roman families, settled in midst of a conquered maritime town. The latter has the *civitas sine suffragio*.

5. Prefectures. No local rights or Roman rights; governed absolutely by Roman prefect; rare and temporary condition.

B. Allies.

1. Latins: *a.* Old Latin towns, as Tibur, Præneste; relations with Rome based on treaty.

b. Latin colonies: relations with Rome based on statute of founding. Ceremony of founding; centuriation and distribution of lands.

c. In both cases especially close allies; easy access to Roman citizenship.

2. Italians: communities bound to Rome by individual treaties; vary greatly in these relations; two main classes: equal and inferior.

3. All allies free from tribute; furnish military forces for Rome's wars; enjoy own customs and self-government; tendency to timocracy; interstate disputes arbitrated by Roman senate.

4. Population, about 264 B.C.

a. Romans and Latin colonies, about 1,000,000.

b. Other Latins and Italians, nearly 2,000,000.

Make list of laws.

V. Constitutional development, 449-287.

1. New magistracies and promagistracies.

a. Prætor, civil jurisdiction; imperium, may command troops, 367.

b. Two curule ædiles (added to two plebeian ædiles); care of streets, markets, games, etc.; police jurisdiction, 367.

c. Curule magistrates: dictator and master of horse, censor, consul, prætor, curule ædile. Curule chair.

d. Promagistrates: proconsul, proprætor, proquæstor; theoretical prodictator; appointment by senate or by resolution of assembly; sphere of action outside the City.

2. Opening of offices to plebeians. *Replem question,*

a. Consulship through Licinian-Sextian laws, 367; the 'new nobility.'

b. Other political offices, 367-300 B.C.

c. Augurs and pontiffs increased to 9 each; 4 augurs and 5 pontiffs to be plebeian (Lex Ogulnia, 300).

3. Changes in assemblies; movement toward democracy.

a. From 447, tribal assembly under consul or dictator (after 367 also under prætor) elects lower magistrates, as quæstors, and enacts laws.

b. Exclusion of patricians from tribal assembly under presidency of tribunes (lex Publilia, 339). 495, 2; 387, 4; 358, 2

c. Admission of landless to the tribes, 312; city tribes inferior to rural tribes, 304. 382, 2; 318, 2; 300, 2; 241, 2.

d. Plebiscites valid without the consent of the senate (Hortensian law, 287).

e. Field of comitial legislation expands, 358-287.

f. Government in form a democracy; in fact a rule of the nobility as newly constituted.

VI. Culture: (a) Religion and morals; (b) education and intelligence; (c) social and public character; (d) public works (temples, roads, and aqueducts). Appian, *Annals*.

S B.

READING

I. SOURCES FOR THE PERIOD 509-264 B.C. — Cicero, *Republic*, ii. 31 ff.; Livy ii-xv (of books xi-xv we have but a brief epitome); Dionys. v-xx (of the last ten books fragments only are left); Polybius ii. 18-21 (Gallic invasion); Velleius Paterculus i. 14 f. (colonies); Diodorus xi. 53; xiv. 101 f., 113-16; xvi; xx. 36; Plutarch, *Coriolanus*; *Camillus*; *Pyrrhus*; Appian, *Foreign Wars*, ii, iii; Florus i. 9-26; Eutropius i. 9-ii. 18; Justin xvii. 111-xviii. 2; Pausanias i. 11 f.; Botsford, *Story of Rome*, chs. iii, iv; Source-Book, chs. xxx-xxxii.

II. BRIEF REVIEW. — Botsford, *Rome*, chs. iii, iv; *Anc. W.*, chs. xxx-xxxii; Pelham, *Outlines*, 45-113; How and Leigh, *Rome*, 47-58, 65-77, 91-97, 131-149.

III. MORE DETAILED OR SPECIAL. — Mommsen, *History of Rome*, bk. II. chs. vii-ix; Frank, *Roman Imperialism*, chs. iii-v; Reid, *Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, chs. iii, iv; Heitland,

Roman Republic, I bks. II, III; Pais, Ancient Italy, chs. : (Greek elements in Roman civilization); Beloch, J., Der ital. Bund, chs. iv-x; 'Die Bevölkerung Italiens im Altertum,' in III (1903). 471-90, for population in third century.

IV. PROGRESS IN CIVILIZATION. — Duruy, Rome, ch. xviii. Heitland, Roman Republic, bk. III. chs. xviii, xx.

Lecture on Polybius, Purpose & character of his history. Read Book XII.
Ch. VI CHAPTER X

EXPANSION OF THE ROMAN POWER OVER THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

List of important wars
dates, routes.

264-133 B.C.

I. External history: expansion of the Roman power outside Italy, to the conquest of Carthage, Macedon, and Greece, and the fall of Numantia in Spain; Rome becomes the only great power in the Mediterranean world. Steps in the process: —

1. First war with Carthage, 264-241; causes, general character, and results; acquisition of (a) Sicily, (b) Sardinia and Corsica — two provinces, 227. Rome's foreign policy; the Imperial Republic. Frank, *Rom. Imp.*, ch. vi.

2. Extension of Roman supremacy to the foot of the Alps; province of Cisalpine Gaul, acquired, 222; organized not later than 81 B.C.

3. War with Hannibal: (a) Causes and general character; a struggle of civilizations; 'federation put to the test.' Frank, *Rom. Imp.*, ch. vii. (b) Results: heavy indemnity; Carthage a dependent ally; acquisition of Spain — two provinces, 197.

4. Macedonian wars: (a) causes and general character; 'sentimental politics and reaction.' Frank, *Rom. Imp.*, chs. viii-xi. (b) Results: province of Macedonia, 146; settlement of Greece, 146.

5. Asiatic war, 192-189; Roman protectorate over Asia Minor, 189.

6. Illyrian wars, ending 167; province of Illyricum, after 167.

7. Third war with Carthage, 149-146; province of Africa, 146.

8. Attalus of Pergamum wills his kingdom to Rome, 133; province of Asia, 126.

9. Provincial system: (a) classes of states; (b) governor and his staff; (c) army; (d) taxes — kinds and method of collection; the taxpayers; (e) judicial administration; (f) good and bad effects on the provincials.

S. Grant ch. II 1. 189.

READING

I. SOURCES. — Polybius, *Histories*; Livy xvi-lix (bks. xxi-xlv entire, the rest in an epitome); Appian, *Foreign Wars*, v-xi; Plutarch, *Fabius Maximus*; *Marcellus*; *Flaminius*; *Æmilius*; *M. Cato*; *Philopæmen*; Nepos, *Hannibal*; Florus ii; Diodorus xxiii-xxxii (brief fragments); Eutropius ii. 18-iv. 17; Justin xxviii-xxxiv; Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. v; Source-Book, chs. xxxiii, xxxiv.

II. BRIEF REVIEW. — Botsford, *Rome*, chs. v-vi; *Anc. W.*, chs. xxxiii-xxxv; Pelham, *Outlines*, 113-83.

III. RELATIONS BETWEEN ROME AND GREECE. — Colin, G., *Rome et la Grèce de 200 à 146 avant Jésus-Christ* (Paris, 1905); Frank, *Rom. Imp.* chs. viii-x.

IV. PROVINCES AND MUNICIPIA. — Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions*, 88-91; Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, ch. viii; Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, chs. iii, vi; Reid, *Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, see Contents; Rostowzew, M., *Geschichte des römischen Kolonates*, 229-402.

Ch. VII. 1. 123
II. Internal history; growth of plutocracy, 264-133 B.C.

1. Social classes: privileges and duties; a. Roman

b. Latins; *c.* Italians; *d.* provincials; *e.* slaves; effects of Roman expansion on these five classes respectively.

2. Government and administration.

a. Assemblies (comitia); changes introduced as a result of expansion.

b. Magistrates and promagistrates: (1) rank, title, qualifications, number, method of appointment of each; (2) functions of each; (3) relation to assemblies and senate; (4) career of honors; (5) how influenced by foreign conquests.

c. Senate: changes introduced since the preceding period; gradation of senators; controlled by a few wealthy families (plutocracy).

d. Laws and decrees; process of legislation: (1) how a tribune carries a measure; (2) how a consul or prætor carries a measure; (3) control by the nobility; use of auspices; tribunician veto.

e. Standing courts — quæstiones perpetuæ: (1) court for trial of extortion (quæstio repetundarum); (2) for trial of murder; jury of senators presided over by prætor.

f. Balance of constitutional forces. Botsford, *Story of Rome*, 130-3; Source-Book, 400 f. (from Polybius).

Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions*, ch. v; Botsford, *Rom. Assemb.* ch. xv and summary, p. 315 f.; Mommsen, *History of Rome*, bk. III. ch. xi; Heitland, *Roman Republic*, II. 189-221.

III. Condition of Mediterranean world which made rapid conquest possible.

1. A great part of conquered area commercial and industrial; large class of serfs and slaves; contrasts between very rich and very poor; high standard of living; love of peace; at Carthage the financial question uppermost; Antiochus the Seleucid overcome in a single battle, 190; Egypt conquered without war.

2. Decline in population of Greece (Pol. xxxvii. 9; Bots-

ford, *Source-Book*, 389 f.); love of peace; not morally degenerate.

3. Italy agricultural; populous; virile and warlike.

IV. Education at Rome.

1. Writing from sixth century; rare, no schools till third century; informal instruction among friends.

2. For business with foreigners Greek is necessary.

3. Surveying and engineering, for land distribution and construction of roads and aqueducts; architecture (temple and basilica); elements from Etruria and Greece.

4. Earliest schools taught by (a) Andronicus (lived 284–204), a Greek freedman, and (b) by Sp. Carvilius, also a freedman, same period. Two grades of schools, (1) primary, taught by litterator, (2) grammar, taught by grammaticus.

5. School of jurisprudence, opened by Ti. Corucanius, 254 B.C.; law, formerly monopolized by patricians, now open to plebeians.

I. CONDITION OF THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD. — Duruy, *Rome*, ch. xxvi; Heitland, *Roman Republic*, II. 1–16; Ferguson, *Greek Imperialism*, see Contents; Holm, A., *History of Greece*, IV, see Contents; Beloch, J., *Griechische Geschichte*, III. 1, see Contents.

II. EARLY ROMAN EDUCATION. — Monroe, P., *Source-Book of the History of Education for the Greek and Roman Period*, 327–70; Text-Book in the History of Education, 176–95; McCormick, P. J., *History of Education*, 53 ff.; Graves, F. P., *History of Education before the Middle Ages*, 230 ff.

V. Hellenic culture at Rome.

1. Medicine. a. Pestilential environment; fevers; temple to Apollo, 432; salutaris et medicinalis (*CIL*. VI. 39); Asclepius from Epidaurus, 293; temple on island in Tiber; incubation. Hamilton, M., *Incubation, or the Cure of Disease in Pagan Temples and Christian Churches*, 63 ff.

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b. Greek physicians; progress of medicine and surgery; anæsthetics; Archagathus at Rome, 219; operating room.

c. Prejudice of Rome against physicians; clings to superstitions; Cato, *De agricultura*, 160 (Botsford, *Source-Book*, 408), example of magical cure.

2. Greek and Oriental gods. *a.* Cybele: introduction, 204; temple on Palatine; emotional worship; individualistic.

b. Introduction of Greek gods; identification with Roman deities; anthropomorphism and myths; Hellenization of Roman festivals.

c. The Bacchanalia and their suppression.

3. Greek science: progress in geography and astronomy; applied sciences; limitations on ancient science.

4. Greek philosophy; various schools: Pythagoreanism; forged books of Numa; Academy, changes since Plato; Lyceum; fate of Aristotle's works; Cynics and Stoics; syncretism in philosophy; emphasis on ethics; Roman attitude toward the respective schools; Panætius and Polybius at Rome. Schools of rhetoric; banishment of rhetoricians.

5. Art. *a.* Change from Etruscan to Greek influence.

b. Art booty from Etruria, Tarentum, Syracuse, and Greece.

c. Native artists and their works; decline in respectability.

6. Literature. *a.* Primitive indigenous elements: indigitamenta; carmina; fescinnine verse; satura; fabula Atellana.

b. Appius Claudius Cæcus; written oratory, proverbs, verse; written calendar and rules of procedure.

c. L. Livius Andronicus; translation of *Odyssey*; of Greek plays; parthenion; collegium scribarum ac histrionum.

d. Cn. Nævius; independent spirit; anti-patrician; fabula prætexta; history of First Punic War in Saturnian verse.

e. Plautus; life and circumstances; comedies; relation to the Greek originals; sources for life of the period; moral and religious features.

f. Ennius; life and education; Hellenic (S. Italian and Sicilian) elements; clientship of authors; *Ambracia*; *Annals*; *Epicharmus*; *Sacred Inscription* of Euhemerus; *Hedyphagetica*. Duckett, E. S., *Studies in Ennius* (Bryn Mawr, 1915).

g. History: (1) Fabius Pictor; *Annals* in Greek; object, material, and method; (2) L. Cincius Alimentus; (3) A. Postumius Albinus; affectation of Greek culture.

h. Latin prose; M. Porcius Cato, *Origines*; oratory, proverbs; *De agricultura* and the science of farming; reaction against Hellenism.

VI. Elements of Roman character.

1. Essentially religious; fidelity to oath; religion an instrument of government; use of auspices; funerals and images, incitements to patriotism. Influence of Hellas and the Orient: skepticism of the educated; superstition of the masses.

2. Honesty; contrast with Greeks, in part superficial; deterioration; corruption of senate by foreigners; 'retainers for favors to be granted.'

3. Avarice; booty a motive for war; severity in business dealings; generosity the exception.

4. Bravery; subject to panics; formidable amid dangers.

5. Patriotism; self-sacrifice for country; politics damages conduct of war.

6. Cleanness of character; sobriety. Eminent examples: Æmilius Paulus, the Scipios, the Gracchi.

7. Rise of great personalities; upsets republican balance.

VII. The beginning of decline.

1. Abuses of provincial rule. 2. Decline of Italy.

3. General deterioration of Rome.

READING

I. SOURCES. — The same as for topic I of this chapter; also Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. vi; Source-Book, ch. xxxv.

II. BRIEF REVIEW. — Botsford, *Rome*, ch. vi; *Anc. W.*, ch. xxxv. Pelham, *Outlines*, 185-98; How and Leigh, *Rome*, 233 f., 287-326; Shuckburgh, *History of Rome*, chs. xxi, xxvi, xxxii.

III. MORE EXTENDED. — Duruy, *Rome*, chs. xxxv, xxxvi; Greenidge, *History of Rome*, I. ch. i (excellent for condition of Rome at close of period); Mommsen, *History of Rome*, bk. IV. ch. i.

IV. GREEK PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE, FROM PLATO THROUGH THE HELLENISTIC AGE. — To understand what the Romans derived from the Greeks it is necessary to know first of all what the Greeks had to give. Marshall, J., *Short History of Greek Philosophy* (Macmillan, 1893), chs. xiii-xxii; Bakewell, C. M., *Source Book in Ancient Philosophy*, 142-304; Gomperz, Th., *Greek Thinkers*, beginning with II. bk. v; Hicks, R. D., *Stoic and Epicurean* (Scribner, 1910); Bevan, E., *Stoics and Skeptics* (Clarendon Press, 1913).

Whibley, L., *Companion to Greek Studies*, 205-7 (Hellenistic science); Botsford and Sihler, *Hellenic Civilization*, ch. xviii; Beloch, J., *Griechische Geschichte*, III. 1. chs. xii, xiii; Gercke and Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, II. 310 ff., 397 ff.; Heiberg, J. E., *Naturwissenschaften und Mathematik im klassischen Altertum* (Teubner, 1912), see Contents.

V. HELLENISM AT ROME. — Duff, J. W., *Literary History of Rome*, 92-117; Duruy, *Rome*, ch. xxxv. This work and most others over-emphasize the evils of Hellenic influence. Rome received from Hellas the blessings, and with them necessarily the evils, of civilization. If she preferred the evil to the good, the choice was due to her own character. See also Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, consult Contents. The effects of Roman conquest on Hellas are summarized by Mahaffy, *Silver Age of the Greek World*, ch. i.

VI. ROMAN CIVILIZATION, NATIVE ELEMENTS. — Mommsen, *History of Rome*, bk. III. chs. xi (government and governed), xii (land and capital), xiii (faith and manners); Duruy, *Rome*, ch. xxii; Heitland, *Roman Republic*, II. 221-55.

VII. BEGINNINGS OF ROMAN LITERATURE. — Duff, *Literary History of Rome*, 63-91, 118-65; Mackail, J. W., *Latin Literature*, 3-38; Teuffel and Schwabe, *History of Roman Literature*, I. 98-184; Schanz, M., *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, I. 1, see Contents; Duruy, *Rome*, ch. xxii. § 1; Mommsen, *History of Rome*, bk. III. ch. xiv.

VIII. ROMAN ART BEFORE 133 B.C. — Walters, H. B., *Art of the Romans*, 1-20; Lanciani, R., *Ruins and Excavations*, see chronological list, pp. 612 f.; Helbig, W., *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom* (3d ed., Leipzig, 1912), see list, vol. II. 539 f.

CHAPTER XI

FROM PLUTOCRACY TO MILITARISM

133-79 B.C.

A. External history.

1. Numidian war; First Mithridatic war. 2. New provinces: (1) Asia organized, 126 (*cf.* ch. X. I. 8); (2) Gallia Narbonensis, 120; (3) Gallia Cisalpina, 81 (?).

B. Internal history.

I. The Gracchi.

1. New character of the plebeian tribunate. In the hands of reformers, who aim at political equality and economic improvement of the poor, the tribunate becomes an instrument of enormous power for the overthrow of the senate and the establishment of a popular ministry responsible only to the comitia tributa.

2. The Gracchi: family connections; relations with the nobility; education; influence of their mother; of their Greek tutors.

3. Economic evils to be remedied; depopulation of Italy from war, deterioration of soil, growth of latifundia worked by slaves; impoverishment of masses; servile war in Sicily.

4. Tribune of Ti. Gracchus, 133; the Roman agrarian system; the agrarian law; opposition of the 'possessors'; how carried; effects; deposition of a tribune; senatorial violence and the beginning of revolution; other proposals of Tiberius; attempted reëlection; death and character.

5. Interval between 133 and 123; senatorial restoration; democratic recovery; application of ballot to legislation; proposal to grant citizenship to allies; reëlection of tribune made possible.

6. Tribune of C. Gracchus, 123; earlier career and character.

a. His laws and proposals.

1. Frumentarian; precedents and principle; Greek examples; designed as temporary expedient.

2. Judiciary; favoritism and corruption of senatorial juries; substitution of knights for senators; results.

3. Law of appeal (*Lex Sempronia de provocatione*); prohibition of extraordinary courts and of the *senatus consultum ultimum* (martial law) without an order from the people.

4. Law for the benefit of soldiers.

5. Law for the taxation of Asia.

6. Colonization: in Italy; in Africa.

7. Proposed extension of the citizenship.

b. Administrative activity.

1. Execution of his measures.

2. His personality a factor in the growth of Cæsarism.

c. Death; total achievements of the Gracchi; the senatorial restoration and the undoing of the Gracchan reforms; democratic recovery and platform; popular worship of the Gracchi.

III. Marius and his associates.

1. C. Marius: (*a*) Birth and early career. (*b*) In

Numidian war. (c) In war with Cimbri and Teutones. (d) Military reforms; made necessary by failure of Gracchan measures; future political effects; changed idea of colonization. (e) Significance of his long tenure of the consulship.

2. Appuleius Saturninus and Servilius Glaucia: aims, methods, and character; their history written by an enemy.

3. The year 100 B.C.; the Appuleian law and its aims; turbulent politics; vacillation of Marius; murder of Saturninus and Glaucia; senatorial restoration.

IV. Social war, 90–88 B.C.

1. Oppression of the allies; proposals to grant citizenship; tribunate of Livius Drusus, 91; his plebiscite; assassination.

2. The war; general character; great destruction of life and property; unfavorable to Rome.

3. Grant of citizenship through (a) *lex Iulia*, 90, (b) *lex Calpurnia*, 89, (c) *lex Plautia Papiria*, 89. Botsford, *Rom. Assemb.* 401 f. Italians remain politically inferior.

4. Tribunate of Sulpicius. (a) Equalization of the Italians. (b) Proposed transfer of command in Mithridatic war from Sulla to Marius. (c) First military interference in politics, by Sulla. (d) Sulpicius outlawed and killed; Marius flees to Africa.

V. Democratic régime, 87–81 B.C.

1. Conflict between Octavius and Cinna; fighting in Rome.

2. Return of Marius; great proletarian uprising; massacre of aristocrats; seventh consulship of Marius; Sertorius in Spain; last democratic opportunity in ancient history; failure to grasp opportunity.

3. Civil war, 83–81; Sulla wins.

VI. Proscriptions and dictatorship of Sulla, 82–79 B.C.

1. His method of securing harmony; murder and confiscation; extermination of enemies.

2. His legislation affecting the —

a. Magistrates and promagistrates; the latter become too powerful.

b. The assemblies; importance diminished; tribal assembly under tribunician presidency rendered impotent.

c. Senate; increase to 600; supremacy restored.

d. Courts: (1) extortion; (2) bribery in elections; (3) misappropriation of public funds and sacrilege; (4) treason; (5) murder; (6) counterfeiting and forgery; (7) personal violence, defamation of character. Juries restored to senators.

3. Partisan legislation in favor of senate; strongly reactionary; some administrative laws praiseworthy.

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II. BRIEF REVIEW. — Botsford, *Rome*, ch. vii; *Anc. W.*, ch. xxxvi; Pelham, *Outlines*, bk. IV. chs. i, iii; How and Leigh, *Rome*, chs. xxxiii-xliv.

III. MORE DETAILED OR SPECIAL. — Greenidge, History of Rome, I (entire; the best detailed treatment); Mommsen, *Rome*, bk. IV (entire); Beesly, Gracchi, Marius and Sulla (Epoch series, Scribner); Botsford, *Rom. Assemb.* ch. xvi; Fowler, W. W., 'Notes on Gaius Gracchus,' in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* XX (1905). 209-27, 417-33; Kornemann, E., 'Zur Geschichte der Gracchenzeit,' in *Klio*, Beiheft, I; Cardinali, G., 'Studi Graccani' (Rome, 1912); Thompson, F. C., 'Agrarian Legislation of Sp. Thorius,' in *Class Rev.* XXVII (1913). 23 f.; Schwarze, K., *Beiträge zur Geschichte altrömischer Agrarprobleme* (dissertation, Halle, 1912); Robinson,

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CHAPTER XII .

MILITARISM IN CONFLICT WITH THE REPUBLIC

I. External history, 79-27 B.C.

1. Second and third war with Mithridates, 83-81, 74-63; wars with the Helvetians and Gauls, 58-50; war with Parthia, 53; with the Dalmatians, 35-33; with Egypt, 32-30 B.C.

2. New provinces: (a) Bithynia, 74; (b) Cyrene and Crete, 74; (c) Crete separated, 67; (d) Cilicia, 64; (e) Syria, 64; (f) Gaul acquired, 50; (g) Lusitania, 27 (?).

II. Internal history.

1. Failure of the Sullan constitution to produce competent generals: (a) in Spanish rebellion; (b) in war with Spartacus; (c) unconstitutional appointment of Pompey.

2. Consulship of Pompey and Crassus, 70: (a) Restoration of the tribunate. (b) Judicial reform.

3. Gabinian and Manilian laws, 67, 66 B.C.; temporary establishment of monarchy for part of empire; precedent for Augustan system.

4. Consulship of Cicero; conspiracy of Catiline, 63.

5. First Triumvirate: (a) composition, character, and aims; (b) history.

6. Cæsar's consulship, 59; (a) agrarian reform; (b) general democratic policy; breaking down of auspices.

7. Cæsar's proconsulship, 58-50: (a) conquest of Gaul; importance of; (b) becomes a military potentate; (c) growing enmity of senate and Pompey. Holmes, T. R., *Cæsar's Conquest of Gaul* (2d ed., Clarendon Press, 1911); *Ancient*

Britain and the Invasions of Julius Cæsar (Clarendon Press, 1907).

8. Civil War and Cæsar's dictatorship, 49-44: (a) military events; (b) Cæsar's powers and titles; virtually a monarch; (c) his reforms and public works; (d) death and character.

9. The 'Liberators' and Mark Antony.

10. 'Struggle for the succession' to Cæsar, 44-31 B.C.

a. Gaius Octavius.

1. Family, early life and character; personal appearance; earliest known portrait.

2. His journey to Rome; question of inheritance.

3. His first military command; its legal aspect; connections with the senate and with Antony, 44-43.

b. The Second Triumvirate, 43-28.

1. Composition, purpose, and legal standing.

2. Proscriptions; purpose and manner of execution; death of Cicero; character and place in history.

c. War with the Liberators; battles of Philippi, 42; results; character of Cassius and of Brutus.

d. Division of the empire by the triumvirs.

e. Career of Octavius from 42 to 36.

1. His marriages, (1) with Clodia, (2) with Scribonia, (3) with Livia; his daughter and stepsons.

2. He masters empire in West; overthrows Sex. Pompeius; deposes Lepidus.

3. Development of his agrarian policy; improved condition of Italy; from revolutionist to statesman; Vergil and Varro.

f. Dalmatian campaigns, 35-33 (cf. I. 1); beginning of movement to extend empire to Danube. Completion: province of Rætia, 15 B.C.; of Noricum, 16 B.C.; of Pannonia, 10 A.D.; of Mœsia, 6 A.D.

g. Conflict between Octavian and Antony, 32-31 B.C.

1. Aims of Antony and Cleopatra; their relations.

2. Hostile feeling of Italy toward these two persons.

3. Battle of Actium, 31; reason for Antony's failure; significance of Octavian's victory.

II. Octavian sole triumvir, also consul by annual election, 31 to end of 28; question as to form of government. *a.* annexation of Egypt as a prefecture; peculiar position of Octavian toward; confiscation of Cleopatra's property; agrarian conditions; taxes and taxpayers; monopolies.

b. Beginning of imperial cult, 29 B.C.

1. Worship of Roma et Divus Julius.

2. Worship of Roma et (Cæsar Octavianus) Augustus; arises in Bithynia and Asia; extends to other provinces. Augustus worshiped by provincials only.

c. Question as to government in 28 B.C.

1. Why Octavian wishes to retire.

2. Obstacles in way of monarchy or other personal government.

3. Resolution to restore the Republic: (*a*) Revision of senate list; (*b*) Proclamation closing the triumvirate and abolishing its acts.

III. Culture, 133-27 B.C.; further transmission of Hellenism to Rome.

1. Political and personal pamphlets; daily news; *acta senatus* and *acta diurna*.

2. History and biography: Cæsar, Sallust, Cornelius Nepos.

3. Rhetoric and oratory: Cicero. Sihler, *Cicero of Arpinum*.

4. Encyclopædic literature: Varro.

5. Philosophy. (*a*) Epicureanism: purely mechanistic theory of the universe and the elimination of super-nature; in ethics, pleasure the aim of life; Lucretius. (*b*) Eclecticism as represented by Cicero: selection of elements from

various systems; preference for the Academy; in ethics, virtue the aim of life.

6. Jurisprudence; improvements in the law. Heitland, *Roman Republic*, III. 473-8.

7. Lyric poetry: Catullus.

8. Art. *a.* Architecture: *e.g.*, new Capitoline temple, Tabularium, temple of Fortuna Virilis. Improved materials; kiln-dried brick, travertine, marble, granite.

b. Portrait sculpture; development from death masks and from Etruscan models; incipient Greek influence.

9. Education. *a.* Elementary in private schools or under private tutors; reading, writing, arithmetic; Greek and Latin languages and literatures; the Twelve Tables.

b. Advanced, under private teaching in Rome or Greece; philosophy, including ethics, some science, politics, history, etc.; rhetoric, including oratory.

10. Religion and morals. (*a*) General tendency to skepticism among the educated; auspices become farcical; maintenance of state religion as a means of controlling the masses, who retain ancient beliefs; yet the eminent men are generally superstitious in spite of skepticism. Many worship fall into disuse and most of the temples are in ruin; introduction of Isis worship. (*b*) Moral disintegration of the higher class; increasing luxury and vice.

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21; ii-v; Suetonius, *Julius Cæsar*; *Augustus*; Plutarch, Cæsar; Cicero; Crassus; Cato (the younger); Lucullus; Antony; Pompey; Sertorius; Brutus.

Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. viii; Source-Book, ch. xxxvii; Munro, *Source-Book*, 124-42.

II. BRIEF REVIEW. — Botsford, *Rome*, ch. viii; *Anc. W.*, ch. xxxvii.

III. MORE EXTENDED OR SPECIAL. — Pelham, *Outlines*, bk. IV. chs. ii, iii; bk. V. chs. i, ii; Niese, *Röm. Gesch.* 153-276; Merivale, *Roman Triumvirates* (epoch); Mommsen, History of Rome, bk. V; Duruy, *Rome*, chs. xlviii-lxi; Heitland, Roman Republic, bks. VII, VIII; Long, G., *Decline of the Roman Republic*, 5 vols.; Sihler, E. G., *Annals of Cæsar*; *Cicero of Arpinum*; Strachan-Davidson, Cicero (Heroes); Fowler, Cæsar (Heroes); Boissier, *Cicero and his Friends*; Abbott, Roman Political Institutions, 107-265 (constitution); Botsford, *Rom. Assemb.* ch. xvii (legislation).

IV. ECONOMY. — Oliver, E. H., *Roman Economic Conditions* (Toronto, 1907), 41 ff. (from 264 to close of Republic); Hill, G. F., *Historical Roman Coins* (London, 1909).

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VI. LITERATURE. — Duff, Literary History of Rome, 269-431; Mackail, Latin Literature, 30-88; Teuffel and Schwabe, *History of Roman Literature*, I. 243-402; Crutwell, *History of Roman Literature*, bk. II. pt. i; Simcox, *Latin Literature*, I. pt. ii; Santayana, G., *Three Philosophic Poets*: 'Lucretius.'

VII. GENERAL CULTURE. — Mommsen, *History of Rome*, bk. V. chs. xi, xii; Heitland, Roman Republic, III. 431-78; Duruy, Rome, ch. lxii (condition of the provinces); Hahn, L., 'Zum Sprachenkann im römischen Reich.' in *Philologus*, Supplementband, X. 675-715; Fowler, Roman Life in the Age of Cicero;

Religious Experiences, chs. xv–xvii; *Roman Ideas of the Deity in the Last Century before the Christian Era*; Carter, *Religious Life*, 37–62; Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, see chronological list, pp. 613 f.

Ch XI

CHAPTER XIII

THE FOUNDING OF THE PRINCIPATE; THE JULIAN PRINCES

27 B.C. to 41 A.D.

I. The administration of Augustus, 27 B.C.

1. Plan of government of 27 B.C.: *a.* Restoration of the Republic; Octavian's personal inclinations; sentiment of the literary class, *e.g.*, Livy; sentiment of Italy.

b. Titles of honor granted Octavian or assumed by him.

1. Augustus — “the consecrated.”

2. Imperator—inherited from Cæsar; used as a personal name instead of Gaius; does not confer, but merely suggests military authority. A century and a half later it begins to mean “emperor.”

3. Princeps, “leading citizen,” political “boss,” title assumed in compliance with popular wish; consulted on questions of policy, nomination of candidates, etc.

c. Offices and powers.

1. Civil: (*a*) consul with a colleague, elected annually; (*b*) tribunician power, giving personal sanctity and certain judicial authority.

? *superv.* 2. In the provinces: consular authority over certain provinces and (as consul with a colleague) supervision over all provincial governors. Sum of his power compared with that of American president. ■

2. Changes in plan of government, 23 B.C. (*a*) Resignation of consulship. Tribunician power involving (1) certain judicial authority, (2) limited right to call senate and to

appeals, defense, calendar (calendar)

propose one resolution to it. (b) In provinces: proconsular authority involving direct government of certain provinces and supervision (generally with a colleague) over all governors: right to retain proconsulship in the City.

3. Final settlement of 19 B.C. (a) Tribunician power (with colleague) for civil administration; reinforced by special acts; becomes chief power in the state. (b) Proconsular power, as in 23 B.C., for the provinces. *Grac*

4. The imperial cult. (a) Antecedents in Greece and at Rome. (b) Grant of title 'Augustus' (*cf.* 1). (c) Son of Divus Julius. (d) Worshiped in Egypt as successor of kings. (e) Worship of Roma et Augustus by provincials (*cf.* ch. XII. ii. 11. b). (f) Worship of Genius throughout empire. Lares and Genius; popular veneration. (g) Augustales in municipia.

5. Summary of position of Augustus: the senate has means of checking him, and he strives to maintain the republic; but his personal prestige, the veneration for him, and the general tendency to servility combine to render him all-powerful in spite of himself. *position of Senate*

6. Conquest of Spain completed; organization and Romanization.

7. Condition of Greece; impoverishment and depopulation; new province of Achaia; Augustan colonies; Greek leadership in art and thought.

8. Asia Minor; Greek commercial and industrial centers; Asia and Bithynia and the worship of Augustus; Pontus, Cappadocia, and Galatia—their political, social and economic condition.

9. Syria (including Sidon and Tyre) and Judæa; aims and character of Herod.

10. Parthia and the Armenian question (20 B.C.); foreign policy of the empire as shaped by Augustus.

11. The northern frontier: (a) Gaul; importance of the

conquest; the three new provinces and the two Germanies; the Cantons and their council at Lyons; altar to Roma et Augustus at Lyons; amphitheater and games; literary contests and Romanization. Vitality of the people; occupations and wealth; (b) conquest of the Alps; Rætia (15) and Noricum (16); Tiberius and Drusus; the building of roads; (c) Pannonia, conquest and rebellions; organized 10 A.D.; (d) Moesia, 6 A.D.

12. The southern frontier: peculiar status of Egypt; Carthage, Numidia, and Mauretania; fertility of soil and density of population; the desert tribes.

13. The army and fleet. Legionaries drawn from people of Latin speech; empire to be governed by Latin nationality.

14. Moral and religious reforms.

a. The year 18 B.C.

1. Revision of the senate list; reduction to 600; property qualification and its political effect on the masses.

2. Law for the enforcement of marriage.

3. Law for the prevention of unfaithfulness.

4. Law for the prevention of bribery in elections. Relation of these laws to the Puritan movement; intention of Augustus; the enforcement.

b. The Ludi Sæculares, 17 B.C.; significance; Latin, Etruscan, and Greek elements; the part of Horace.

c. Increasing veneration for Augustus; worship of his Genius; the Lares Compitales; d. the Augustales and the Severi; e. the supreme pontificate, 12 B.C.; f. The revival of obsolete colleges: the Fetiales and the Arval Brethren.

g. The building and repair of temples.

1. 82 temples repaired in 28 B.C.

2. New temple of Apollo on Palatine, marble; Greek and Latin libraries attached; relation of Augustus to Apollo; Sibylline books.

3. Old Temple of Vesta; atrium of Vesta; the Six Vestals; new temple of Vesta on Palatine and its significance.

4. Temple of Divus Julius on Forum; peculiarity of structure.

5. The Julian Forum and the temple of Venus, built by Julius Cæsar. The new Forum of Augustus; its wall. Temple of Mars the Avenger, Hall of Fame; protector of the Augustan peace; family god of the Julian gens.

6. Capitoline temple: history; restored by Augustus; plan and appearance.

7. Temple of Cybele on Palatine.

8. Altar of the Augustan Peace: significance; decorations in relief; (a) family of princeps; sacerdotal bodies and senators; (b) allegorical scenes; (c) fruit and floral ornamentation: artistic value.

15. Literature. (a) The Romans practical, with little imagination; Hellenic influence continues from Republic. (b) Inspirations from the Augustan age. (c) Rhetoricians, philosophers and jurists (Antistius Labeo; Ateius Capito). (d) Antiquities: M. Verrius Flaccus (Festus, Paulus). (e) Technical architecture; Vitruvius.

(f) History: Livy; Pompeius Trogus (Justin).

(g) Poetry: Vergil; Horace; Ovid; Propertius and Tibullus.

16. Attempted conquest of Germany.

17. Retirement of Tiberius; the dynastic anti-Puritan movement; banishment of Julia; death of Gaius and Lucius; demoralization of the empire.

18. The last decennium, 4-14 A.D.; the supremacy of Tiberius; reinvigoration. (a) The military fund. (b) A new marriage law (Lex Papia Poppæa). (c) Overthrow of Varus and destruction of a Roman army; difficulty of recruiting; effect on foreign policy; conquest of Pannonia. (d) The question as to the succession.

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V Augustan Rome.
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I. SOURCES FOR AUGUSTUS. — Augustus, *Monumentum Ancyranum* or *Res Gestæ* (*Deeds*), edited and translated by Fairley; Suetonius, *Augustus*; Appian, *Civil Wars*, bks. III–V; Dio Cassius, bks. XLV–LVI; see also under Literature (Horace, Vergil, Ovid, etc.); Velleius Paterculus ii. 88–123; Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Nicolaus of Damascus, *Historiæ*, in Müller's *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, III. 356 ff.; *Vita Cæsaris*, *ib.* 427 ff.

II. SPECIAL WORKS. — Firth, I. B., *Augustus Cæsar* (Heroes); Shuckburgh, E. S., *Augustus* (London, 1903); Gardthausen, V., *Augustus und seine Zeit*, I. 1–3, II (1891–1904); Pelham, H. F., *Essays* (Oxford, 1911), 49 ff.; Stobart, J. C., 'The Senate under Augustus,' in *Class. Quart.* II (1908). 296–303; Abele, Th. A., 'Der Senat unter Augustus,' in *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*, I. Heft 2 (1907); Ferguson, W. S., 'Legalized absolutism en route from Greece to Rome,' in *Am. Hist. Rev.* XVIII (1912). 29 ff.

III. LITERATURE AND ART. — Mackail, *Latin Literature*, 91–168; Duff, *Literary History of Rome*, 432–663; Teuffel and Schwabe, *History of Roman Literature*, I. 403 ff.; Sellar, *Roman Poets of the Augustan Age*, 2 vols.; Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, chs. i, ii; Van Buren, A., 'The Ara Pacis Augustæ,' in *Journal of Roman Studies*, III (1913).

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II. The administration of Tiberius, 14-37 A.D.

1. Tribunician and proconsular powers; question as to sincerity of Tiberius.
2. The mutiny and its significance.
3. Death of Germanicus; trial of Piso; Tiberius' charge to the court.
4. Administration: prætorian guard; security of Italy; senate and comitia; foreign cults; sumptuary laws, Tiberius' attitude toward; public works; the provinces; the right of asylum.
5. Family affairs: Drusus and Nero, sons of Germanicus; his own son Drusus.
6. Alleged deterioration, 23-27. (a) Agrippina's conspiracy. (b) Retirement to Capri; Sejanus. (c) Fall of the house of Germanicus.
7. Character: (a) as a statesman; (b) as a man.

CHIEF SOURCES FOR TIBERIUS

Velleius Paterculus ii. 123 to end; Tacitus, *Annals*, i-vi; Suetonius, *Tiberius*, especially from 21 to end; Dio Cassius lvii, lviii.

The administration and character of Tiberius may be made a subject for the critical examination of the sources. In this work apply rigidly the following principles of criticism. Accept only what could be known to the public or what was evidently committed to documents: as public acts (which every one could know), public speeches, proclamations, letters, etc. Eliminate interpretations made by the historians, including all generalizations (which often have no basis), alleged thoughts, motives, and secret acts of Tiberius; draw your own conclusions as to motives and character; 'give the accused the benefit of the doubt.'

These principles should be used in the study of all sources. The necessity of such criticism, however, is diminished in proportion to the proved reliability of a source.

III. Administration of Gaius (Caligula), 37-41. Highly popular, he becomes a capricious tyrant; perhaps insane.

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READING FOR THE PERIOD

I. BRIEF REVIEW. — Botsford, *Rome*, ch. ix; *Anc. W.* ch. xxxviii; Jones, *Roman Empire*, 2-56.

II. MORE EXTENDED OR SPECIAL. — Duruy, *Rome*, chs. lxii-lxxiv; Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, chs. xxix-xlviii; Bury, *Student's Roman Empire*, chs. i-xiv; Schiller, H., *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Gotha, 1883), I. 139-314.

III. PROVINCES. — Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, ch. iii; *Studies of Roman Imperialism* (Manchester, 1906); Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, see Index under Augustus, Caligula, Tiberius.

IV. ART AND PUBLIC WORKS. — Walters, *Art of the Romans*, ch. iii; Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, chs. i, ii; Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, see list, p. 614 f.; Platner, *Top. and Mon.*, see Index under various public works; in the same way consult Huelsen, *Roman Forum*.

V. RELIGION. — Carter, *Religious Life*, ch. iii; Fowler, *Religious Experiences*, lect. xix.

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CHAPTER XIV

FROM CLAUDIUS TO DOMITIAN; THE TRANSITION FROM PRINCIPATE TO MONARCHY

41-96 A.D.

1. Personal character of the successive principes; (a) relation to their administration, (b) to the age.

2. Growth of monarchy. (a) The princeps gains at the expense of the senate. (b) Evolution of a civil service under the princeps.

3. Administration of Italy and the provinces; general policy and the particular regulations of the successive principes.

4. Extension of the Latin rights and of the citizenship by the successive principes.

5. Municipia during the first century A.D.

a. Province, an aggregate of states (Greek and Oriental city-states; cantonal states in less civilized West; gradual change to city organization).

b. (1) Dependent states; (2) municipia (with Latin or Roman rights); few exempt from tributum; Roman and Latin colonies in provinces. Hardy, *Roman Laws and Charters*, pt. II. p. 1 ff.

c. Great variety of constitutions; contrast between East and West; Salpensa and Malaca. Hardy, pt. II. p. 61 ff.

d. Government: (1) assembly of citizens; elections and laws; (2) magistrates; property qualifications; oath of office; payments, required and voluntary; functions; grant of Roman citizenship to Latin ex-magistrates; (3) council (curia, ordo); qualifications, powers, and honors.

e. Intense political life; graffiti at Pompeii; political campaigns.

f. Public spirit; gifts to state by magistrates and citizens; the Gamalas at Ostia; Holconii at Pompeii. Objects of gifts; festivals, shows, public buildings, school endowments; exemption of city from tributum; rewards to givers.

g. Slight imperial interference; vitality of empire in its towns.

Abbott, F. F., 'Municipal Politics in Pompeii,' in *Class. Journ.* III (1907). 58-66; *Common People of Ancient Rome*, 179 ff.; Reid, J. S., *Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, see Contents; Liebenam, W., *Städteverwaltung im römischen Kaiserreich*, see Contents.

6. The frontier and diplomatic policy of the successive principes; accessions to the empire; Britain and the Agri Decumates.

7. The changing relations between princeps and army; revolution of 68-69; Domitian's militarism.

8. Literature. *a.* Decline after Augustus; lower intellectual level; avoidance of politics; tendency to artificial rhetoric, to affectation and hypocrisy, to introspection and psychological analysis; spiritual longings; morbidity.

b. Interest of Claudius in learning; his Hellenistic spirit; Vespasian's endowment of advanced education and its influence; Domitian's policy.

c. Velleius Paterculus, *Roman Histories*; Q. Curtius, *Histories of Alexander the Great*; Petronius and the character-novel.

d. Persius the satirist; Silius Italicus, *Punica* (epic); Statius, *Silvæ*.

e. Pliny the Elder; diligence and acquisitiveness; *Natural History* (encyclopædia of arts and sciences); unscientific method.

f. Rise of provincial culture; Romanization of Spain.

1. Seneca the philosopher.

2. Quintilian, *Training of the Orator*.

3. Columella, *De re rustica*.

4. Lucan the poet. 5. Martial, *Epigrams*.

9. Art and public works; aqueducts completed by Claudius; the harbor at Ostia; Nero's devotion to art and his rebuilding of Rome; his 'Golden House'; works of the Flavians; Vespasian's temple of Peace; temple of the Sacred City; rebuilding of the Capitoline temple. Completion of the Colosseum by Titus; public baths; Domitian's palace; temple of Minerva and library. Gradual improvement of portrait sculpture since Augustus; reliefs; arch of Titus.

10. Humanitarian legislation and administration: laws of Claudius for protection of slaves; improvements under Nero; restriction of gladiatorial shows; an example of Nero's justice and mercy.

11. Morals and religion: the 'moral revolution' under Vespasian; Domitian's strict supervision; growing faith in the supernatural; revival of paganism; Domitian's religious policy; attitude of government toward Jews and Christians under Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, and Domitian respectively.

READING

I. SOURCES. — (1) for Claudius: Tacitus, *Annals*, xii; Suetonius, *Claudius*; Dio Cassius lx. (2) for Nero: Tacitus xiii-xvi; Suetonius, *Nero*; Dio Cassius lxi-lxiii; Seneca, *On the Clemency of Nero*. (3) for the Flavians: Tacitus, *Histories* (civil war of 68-69); *Agricola*; Suetonius, *Vespasian*; *Titus*; *Domitian*; Dio Cassius lv-lvii. (4) In general see also the literature mentioned in § 8 above, and Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. x; Source-Book, ch. xxxix.

II. BRIEF REVIEW. — Botsford, *Rome*, ch. x; *Anc. W.*, ch. xxxix; Pelham, *Outlines*, 478-529; Jones, *Roman Empire*, 56-148.

III. MORE EXTENDED OR SPECIAL. — Duruy, *Rome*, chs. lxxiv-lxxviii; Merivale, *History of the Romans*, chs. xlix-lxii; Bury, *Student's Roman Empire*, chs. xv-xxii; Schiller, *Geschichte der röm. Kaiserzeit*, I. 314-400, 497-538; Henderson, B. W., *Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero* (Lippincott, 1903); Huelsen, Ch., 'Burning of Rome under Nero,' in *Am. Journ. Arch.* XIII (1909). 45-8; Freeman, *Historical Essays*, II; 'The Flavian Cæsars.'

IV. MUNICIPALITIES. — Abbott, 'Municipal Politics at Pompeii,' in *Class. Journ.* III. 58-66; Reid, J. S., *Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, see Contents and Index; Mau, Pompeii, its Life and Art; Schiller, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, I. 400-435.

V. LITERATURE AND ART. — Mackail, Latin Literature, 171-204; Teuffel and Schwabe, *History of Roman Literature*, II. 33-145; Cruttwell, *History of Roman Literature*, bk. III. chs. i-vi; Simcox, *Latin Literature*, II. pts. iv-vi.

Strong, Roman Sculpture, chs. iii-v and p. 361-7; Wace, 'Evolu-

tion of Art in Roman Portraiture,' in *Journal of the British and American Archæological Society*, III (1905-06). 467-78; Lowrie, W., *Monuments of the Early Church* (Macmillan, 1906).

VI. GENERAL CULTURE. — Ferrero, G., *Women of the Cæsars* (Century Co., 1911); Mahaffy, *Greek World under Roman Sway*, chs. i-xii; *Silver Age of the Greek World*, chs. ix-xvii; *The Periplus of the Erythræan Sea: Travel and Trade in the Indian Ocean by a Merchant of the First Century*, translated and edited by W. H. Schoff (Longmans, 1912).

XII *Arch of Empire* *Backs of a revolution*
CHAPTER XV

THE 'GOOD EMPERORS'; THE LIMITED MONARCHY

96-180 A.D.

1. Local origin, family, and personal character of the successive principes; provincial origin of Trajan and others; bearing of these conditions on administrative policies.

2. Government — a "union of liberty with the principate" (Tacitus); the princeps holding large powers, the senate with independence recognized and with a real influence on the administration. The title imperator comes to mean "emperor" and the princeps is a limited monarch.

3. Relation, generally friendly, between the five emperors respectively and the senate.

4. The frontier and foreign policy; the conquests of Trajan; Hadrian's reversion to peace; the line of buffer states; fortifications; Marcus Aurelius; condition of the frontier in 180.

5. The army: improvements by Hadrian; under M. Aurelius.

6. The administration of Italy and the provinces: Nerva's Italian policy; attempt to restore agriculture; division of Italy into districts by Hadrian; addition of provinces under

Trajan; Hadrian retains only Dacia; his travels and improvements.

7. Municipia during the second century A.D.

a. Municipium made a civil person, empowered to collect gifts and legacies; great impetus to generosity. *cf. Ostia*

b. Ostia, type of second-century maritime town; excavations; situation and form; temples, theater, warehouses, baths, etc.; sculptures and mosaics; magnificent private dwelling.

Paschetto, L., *Ostia, Colonia Romana* (Rome, 1912), abundant illustrations.

c. Cities of Bithynia; Pliny the Younger as governor; correspondence with Trajan (*Letters*, bk. x); remedies of abuses: long-standing debts to cities; guarding of prisons; building of hot-baths, theater, gymnasium, aqueduct, canal; repair of sewer; cost of embassies; lending of municipal moneys; slaves in army; labor of convicts; precautions against fires.

d. Philanthropies: endowments for schools; for rearing children; for supplying dowries to girls and a start in life to boys; for the aged, sick, and cripples; free medical and surgical service furnished by city.

e. Beginnings of imperial interference; prohibition of borrowing; of increasing taxes without consent of princeps; auditing of accounts; the curator rei publicæ; the general leveling tendency and the incipient decay of local political life.

8. Collegia: early history (regal period and republic); restricted by J. Cæsar and Augustus; tradesunions; societies of poor; of slaves; burial societies; for mutual aid; disliked by Trajan.

Dictionaries of antiquities, s.v.; Abbott, F. F., *Common People of Ancient Rome*, 205 ff.; Waltzing, J. P., *Etude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains*,

3 vols. (Louvain); Liebenam, W., *Zur Geschichte und Organisation des römischen Vereinswesens* (Leipzig, 1890).

9. Humanitarian legislation and administration. *a.* Nerva's endowment for poor children; expanded under Trajan and Hadrian; the Faustinianæ; the registration of infants; the prætor tutelarius; emancipation of the son from the father's power; the children of condemned fathers.

b. Regulations regarding slaves: (1) by Trajan; (2) great improvements introduced by Hadrian.

c. The emancipation of women.

10. Growth of the civil service: from Augustus to Claudius; the Claudian employment of freedmen; the two "prime ministers"; the great departments of the prince's administration; gradual substitution of knights; reorganization by Hadrian: preliminary service; the procurator's career; the prefect's career; the imperial council; the official nobility; general effects of the system.

11. The growth of law: *a.* The edicts of the urban prætor and of the provincial governors; Julius Cæsar's idea of codification; the work of Salvius Julianus — the perpetual edict; its leveling tendency.

b. The responsa prudentium: under the republic; regulated by Augustus; Hadrian's rescript concerning them.

c. Cessation of comitial legislation: the senatus consulta; the constitutiones principis.

d. New principles of law: assumption of innocence; reformatory punishment.

e. The institutes of Gaius.

12. Pagan morality and religion: *a.* Worldliness based on the great (apparent) prosperity; liberality of the rich; general friendliness and the softening of character.

b. Protests against materialism by Lucian and the philosophers; cynic missionaries; Epictetus; Apollonius; Dio Chrysostom.

c. Religious revival: multiplication of deities and oracles, syncretism and monotheism.

d. Culmination of stoicism; Marcus Aurelius.

READING

I. SOURCES. — Dio Cassius lxxviii–lxxxi; *Historia Augusta* by various authors (lives of the emperors beginning with Hadrian); Pliny, *Panegyric on Trajan*; *Letters* (for social and intellectual life and administration); Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*; Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, i–v; Botsford, *Story of Rome*, ch. xi; Source-Book, ch. xl.

II. BRIEF REVIEW. — Botsford, *Rome*, ch. xi; *Anc. W.*, ch. xl; Pelham, *Outlines*, 529–41; Jones, *Roman Empire*, 149–228.

III. MORE EXTENDED OR SPECIAL. — Duruy, *Rome*, chs. lxxix–lxxxvii; Merivale, *History of the Romans*, chs. lxxiii–lxxviii; Bury, *Student's Roman Empire*, chs. xxiii–xxxi; La Berge, C. de, *Essai sur le règne de Trajan* (Paris, 1877); Gregorovius, F., *The Emperor Hadrian*; Schulz, O., *Leben des Kaisers Hadrian* (Teubner, 1904); Bryant, E. E., *Reign of Antoninus Pius*; Lacour-Gayet, G., *Antonin le Pieux et son Temps* (Paris, 1888); Myers, *Classical Essays*: 'Marcus Aurelius Antoninus'; Bussell, F. W., *Marcus Aurelius and the Later Stoics* (Scribner, 1910); Schiller, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, I. 538–660.

IV. PROVINCES AND MUNICIPIA. — Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, 158–68; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chs. i–iii (condition of the empire); Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, see Index; Boissier, *Roman Africa*; Graham, *Roman Africa*; Toutain, *Les cités de la Tunisie*; Bouchier, E. S., *Life and Letters in Roman Africa*; *Spain under the Roman Empire*; Peaks, M. B., 'Administration of Noricum and Rætia,' in *Studies in Classical Philology*, IV. 161–230; Finlay, *History of Greece*, I. ch. i; Hardy, E. G., *Studies in Roman History*, ch. xiii: 'Provincial Concilia.'

V. LITERATURE, ART, AND GENERAL CULTURE. — Mackail, *Latin Literature*, bk. III; Teuffel and Schwabe, *History of Roman Literature*, II. 145–251; Cruttwell, *History of Roman Literature*,

bk. III. chs. vii-ix; Simcox, *Latin Literature*, II. pts. v-vii; Butler, E. H., *Post-Augustan Poetry* (Clarendon Press, 1909); Brock, M. D., *Studies in Fronto* (Cambridge University Press, 1911).

Carter, J. B., 'The So-Called Balustrades of Trajan,' in *Am. Journ. Arch.* XIV (1910), 310-17; Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, 150-296, 367-74; Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, see chronological list, p. 616 f.; Platner, *Top. and Mon.*, see Index; Mahaffy, *Greek World under Roman Sway*, chs. xiii, xiv; Duruy, *Rome*, chs. lxxxii-lxxxvii; Schiller, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, I. 672-700.

13. Christianity, from its origin to the reign of Decius.

i. Approaches of Classical paganism to Christianity. Glover, *Conflict of Religions in the Roman Empire*, i; Carter, J. B., *Religious Life of Ancient Rome*, iii; (for pagan influence on Christianity) Renan, E., *Lectures on the Influence of the Institutions, Thought, and Culture of Rome on Christianity* (Hibbert Lectures), especially ch. i; Lewis, A. H., *Paganism surviving in Christianity*, especially chs. vii, ix; Hatch, E., *Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church*, vi, x, xii.

ii. Origin, growth, and expansion.

Carter, pp. 95-114; Glover, iv, v, ix; Newman, A. H., *Manual of Church History*, i. 67-162; Fisher, Alzog, and Schaff, as above.

iii. (1) Early organization.

Allen, A. V. G., *Church Institutions*, ch. iii (Presbyters, Bishops, Deacons); Hatch, E., *Organization of the Early Christian Church*, see Contents.

(2) The community: property; business relations with outsiders and with the state; catacombs at Rome; cubiculum, crypt, chapel; inscriptions. Art: painting, sculpture, symbolism.

Lowrie, W., *Monuments of the Early Church* (Macmillan,

1906); Marucchi, O., *Christian Epigraphy* (Cambridge University Press).

iv. Beliefs and morals.

See especially the sources; also Lecky, W. E. H., *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne*, I. ch. iii (Conversion of the Empire).

v. Relation to the government; persecutions.

Addis, W. E., *Christianity and the Roman Government* (London, 1893), 1-79; Bury, J. B. *Later Roman Empire*, I. chs. i, ii (general place of Christianity); Hardy, E. G., *Christianity and the Roman Government*; Ramsay, *op. cit.*

vi. (a) Sources: the Gospels; Acts of the Apostles; Gwatkin, *Selections from the Early Christian Writers*, 1-164; Eusebius, *Church History*, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, I. 81-248; Ayer, J. C., *A Source Book for Ancient Church History* (Scribner, 1913), 1-138, and see Contents.

(b) A few modern writers: Sohm, *Outlines of Church History*, 1-43; Fisher, G. P., *History of the Christian Church*; Ramsay, W. M., *The Church in the Roman Empire before 170 A.D.*; Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, ii, 13-386 (see Contents for topics); Plummer, *The Church of the Early Fathers* (epoch); Alzog, J., *Manual of Universal Church History*, i. 100-316 (see Contents).

14. A detailed study of Roman religion in the imperial period. The following are a few of the more important books on the subject. The topics may be made up by an examination of the Tables of Contents of the various books.

✓ Carter, J. B., *Religious Life of Ancient Rome*.

✓ Glover, T. R., *Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*.

✓ Cumont, Fr., *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism. Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans*.

✓ Colville, W. J., *Ancient Mysteries and Modern Revelations*.

✓ Showerman, Grant, *The Great Mother of the Gods*.

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Laing, G. T., 'Roman Prayer and its Relation to Ethics,' *Classical Philology*, VI. 180 ff.

Allen, C., *Roman Problems from and after Plutarch's Roman Questions*.

Granger, Frank, *The Worship of the Romans*.

Moore, C. H., 'On some Aspects of Later Roman Syncretism,' in *Brit. and American Arch. Soc. at Rome*, iii. 392 ff.

✓ Cumont, Fr., *The Mysteries of Mithra*, translated by Th. J. McCormack.

Moore, C. H., 'Introduction of the Taurobolium into the Cult of the Magna Mater,' *Am. Journ. of Arch.* IX. 51 ff.

✓ Wissowa, G., *Religion und Kultus der Römer*.

Aust, E., *Religion der Römer*.

✓ Boissier, G., *La religion romaine*, 2 vols. *La fin du paganisme*.

Wolf, H., *Religion der alten Römer*.

Wendland, P., *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zu Judentum und Christentum*.

✓ Arnold, E. V., *Roman Stoicism*.

✓ Hamilton, M., *Incubation, or the Cure of Disease in Pagan Temples and Christian Churches*, 1906.

See also the larger histories of Rome; articles in classical and religious dictionaries and encyclopædias; subject catalogue of libraries.

15. Social life under the Cæsars (from Augustus to M. Aurelius).

i. The Dwelling in Town and Country. — Tucker, 139-179; Mau-Kelsey, 245-355 (Choose one or two houses as examples); Pellison, 58-79; Johnston, 117-147; Friedländer, i. 185-202; Thomas, 182-208.

ii. Furniture (brief). — Tucker, 180-192; Johnston, 147-157; Friedländer, I, 202-208.

iii. Middle and Lower Classes, including Slaves; Occupations. Mau-Kelsey, 383-404; Tucker, 238-259; Dill, 100-137; Davis, 194-247; Pellison, 80-135; Inge, 140-171; Johnston, 87-116; 306-308.

iv. The Nobles; a "Social Day." — Tucker, 193-237 (preferable); Pellison, 151-185; Inge, 190-205; Johnston, 158-173 (dress).

v. Women and Marriage. — Tucker, 289-313; Friedländer, I. 228-267; Davis, 288-313; Pellison, 37-57, 178-182; Johnston, 49-66; 173-182 (dress).

vi. Children and Education. — Tucker, 314-337; Pellison, 19-36; Inge, 173-177; Thomas, 209-235; Johnston, 67-86; any history of Roman education.

vii. Intellectual Life; "Liberal Studies"; Rhetoric, Philosophy, and Science. — Tucker, 288-415; Inge, 22-31, 93-106; Johnston, 287-298 (correspondence, books, etc.).

viii. Travel. — Friedländer, I. 323, 395; Tucker, 16-29; Pellison, 228-270; Johnston, 278-287; Davis, 95-105.

ix. The Professions: Law, Teaching, Medicine, Architecture, etc. — Partly included in topics above; also Friedländer, I. 156-185; II. 231-365; Pellison 136-150; Inge, 129-136; 140-143.

x. Morals. — Partly included in topics above; also Friedländer, III. 215-281; Inge, 33-74; Thomas, 253-275.

Especially useful for the various topics given above: Pliny, *Letters*, i. 8, 9, 14; ii. 17, 18; iii. 1, 4, 20; iv. 13, 19; v. 6, 7, 8, 16; vi. 16, 18, 34; vii. 5, 17, 32; Petronius, *Trimalchio's Dinner*.

READING

Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire*, 3 vols.; Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*; Davis, *Influence of Wealth in the Roman Empire*; Tucker, *Life in the Roman World of Nero and St. Paul*; Mau, *Pompeii*, trans. by Kelsey; Inge, *Society in Rome under the Cæsars*; Pellison, *Roman Life in Pliny's Time*; Thomas, *Roman Life under the Cæsars*; Johnston, *Private Life of the Romans*; Pliny, *Letters*; Petronius, *Trimalchio's Dinner*; Martial, *Epigrams*; Juvenal, *Satires*.

XIII

CHAPTER XVI

THE REVOLUTION FROM LIMITED MONARCHY TO ABSOLUTISM; FROM COMMODUS TO CONSTANTINE

180-337 A.D.

I. A century of revolution; from the accession of Commodus to the accession of Diocletian, 180-284.

1. The government: weakness of Commodus; rise of the pretorians; sale of the imperial office to the highest bidder; civil war and the emergence of the military commander; Septimius Severus and Caracalla; the edict of Caracalla extending the Roman citizenship; senatorial reaction and Alexander Severus; revolution and disintegration; enlistment of barbarians and its political effects; the so-called Thirty Tyrants; barbarian invasions; the Illyrian emperors and the restoration of the empire.

2. The development of law; Papinian and Ulpian.

3. General cultural tendencies: widest reach of Romanization in the provinces; barbarization of the language; spread of mysticism and Orientalism over the empire; religious syncretism; Julia Domna and her learned circle; Elagabalus and his cult of the Sun-God.

READING

I. SOURCES. — Dio Cassius lxxiii-lxxx (only to 229 and the latter part in fragments); *Historia Augusta*; Herodian, *History*; Eusebius, *Church History*, bks. v-viii; Eutropius viii. 15-x. 19; Orosius vii. 16-24; Aurelius Victor, *The Cæsars*, chs. xvii-xxxviii; Lactantius, *On the Manner in which the Persecutors died*, chs. i-vi, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*; VII.

II. BRIEF REVIEW. — Botsford, *Rome*, ch. xii; *Anc. W.*, ch. xli; Pelham, *Outlines*, 542-8; Jones, *Roman Empire*, 228-350; Niese, *Röm. Gesch.* 340 ff.

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III. MORE DETAILED OR SPECIAL. — Gibbon, *Decline*, chs. iv–xii; Duruy, *Rome*, chs. lxxxviii, xcvi; Butler, O. F., ‘Studies in the Life of Heliogabalus,’ in *University of Michigan Studies*, IV (ed. by H. A. Sanders), 1–157; Hay, J. S., *The Amazing Emperor Heliogabalus* (Macmillan); Hopkins, N., *Life of Alexander Severus* (Cambridge University Press); Crees, J. H. E., *Reign of the Emperor Probus* (London, 1911); Freeman, *Historical Essays*, III: ‘Illyrian Emperors’; Schulz, O. T., *Der römische Kaiser Caracalla* (Leipzig, 1909), an attempted defense.

IV. LITERATURE, ART, AND CULTURE. — Teuffel and Schwabe, *History of Roman Literature*, II. 251–94; Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, see list, p. 617 f.; Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, 297–323, 374–83; Duruy, *Rome*, chs. xc, xci, xcv; Schiller, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, I. 885–936; Hahn, H., *Rom und Romanismus im griechisch-römischen Osten* (Leipzig, 1906).

II. Diocletian and Constantine; reorganization of the empire, 284–337.

1. Origin, accession and character of Diocletian; his relation to the revolution.

2. The Augusti and the Cæsars; titles and pomp of these principes; the emperor Orientalized.

3. Senate; members of the senatorial rank; qualifications and titles; the deliberative body of senators at Rome and at Constantinople; functions as municipal council; few imperial functions; the knights.

4. Provinces: increase in number; grades of governors.

5. The dioceses and their rulers.

6. Pretorian prefects; prefectures.

7. Urban prefect; master of offices; quæstor; count of the sacred bounty, etc.

8. Comites; consistorium.

9. Military officers: dukes and comites; separation of the civil and military careers.

10. Palace officials; the officium; the agentes in rebus.

11. Orders of official nobility.

III. Christianity: persecutions from Decius to Galerius; increasing strength of Church; edict of toleration; Constantine's early life and character; his rise to power; battle of the Milvian Bridge; Constantine's religious experiment; official recognition; the sects and the Council of Nicæa; the Nicene Creed; the last struggles with paganism.

READING

I. SOURCES. — Orosius vii. 25-8; Eutropius ix. 20-x. 8; Lactantius, *On the Manner in which the Persecutors died*, chs. vii-lii, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, VII; Eusebius, *Church History*, bks. ix, x; *Life of Constantine*; *Notitia Dignitatum*; Botsford, *Source-Book*, ch. xlii; Ayer, J. C., *Source Book for Ancient Church History*, 218-320.

II. BRIEF REVIEW. — Botsford, *Rome*, 278-86; *Anc. W.*, xlii; Pelham, *Outlines*, 551-7; Jones, *Roman Empire*, ch. x.

III. MORE DETAILED OR SPECIAL. — Gibbon, *Decline*, chs. xiii-xviii; Duruy, *Rome*, chs. xcix-civ; Bussell, F. W., *Roman Empire* (Longmans, 1910), I. 88-124; Bury, J. B., *Constitution of the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge University Press, 1910), lecture, clear and reliable; Cosenza, M. E., *Official Positions after the Time of Constantine* (Columbia University dissert. 1905); Seeck, O., *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt* (2d. ed., Berlin, 1897), I. 1-188; III (1909), on history of ancient religion and Christianity.

Firth, J. B., *Constantine* (Heroes); Koch, H., *Constantine der Grosse und das Christentum* (Munich, 1913); Humphrey, E. F., *Politics and Religion in the Days of Constantine* (New York, 1912); Huttman, M. A., *Toleration under Constantine*, etc. (New York, 1914); Coleman, C. B., *Constantine the Great and Christianity* (New York, 1914). The last three works are Columbia doctorate dissertations.

IV. LITERATURE, ART, AND CULTURE. — Teuffel and Schwabe, *History of Roman Literature*, II. 294-347; most of the literature of this period is religious; Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, see chronological list, p. 618; Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, 323-46;

Schiller, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, II. 438–75; Ward, J., *Roman Era in Britain* (London, 1911); Haverfield, F. J., *Romanization of Roman Britain* (2d ed., Oxford, 1912).

CHAPTER XVII

THE DECLINE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE AND OF ANCIENT CIVILIZATION

I. Municipal life.

1. Cantonal states converted into city-states; concentration of life in the cities.

2. Effects of imperial centralization: transfer of service and of patriotism from the municipia to Rome; Roman paternalism; the curators; *defensores plebis*; the Christian bishop as a municipal magistrate; his weakness in dealing with imperial officers.

II. Money and tribute.

1. The coinage before Nero; Nero's lowering of the weight and the introduction of alloy; debasement from Nero to Septimius Severus; required by increasing scarcity of metals; shipments to the Orient; extensive hoarding.

2. Distrust aroused by Caracalla's coinage; collapse under Gallienus; loss of securities; return to barter.

3. Tributes: original land tax and poll tax; taxes in kind: reforms of Cæsar and Augustus; disappearance of publicans and transfer of work of collection to the communities; the *decemprimi*; effect of the monetary collapse; monetary experimentation from Aurelian to Constantine and its economic effects.

4. The new tributes: taxes in kind under the early empire; the *indictio*; its vast extension in the third century and the disuse of compensation; substitution of provisions for money in the payment of soldiers; accession donations

and jubilee donations; the annonæ and the capita under Diocletian; the land tax and the poll tax; the method of collection; the collatio; the tax on senators; task work; effect on the empire.

III. The social and occupation classes.

1. Earlier leveling tendencies.

2. Formation of the senatorial, equestrian, and plebeian classes with their respective rights and duties.

3. Imperial encouragement to the formation of guilds, — as the grain-merchants, bakers, cattle-dealers, pork-dealers, etc. — for supplying the Roman populace with food; membership made hereditary by law.

4. The decurionate; earlier respectability; increasing burdens and diminishing honor; avenues of escape gradually closed.

5. Military and civil service gradually become hereditary by choice; continual recruiting necessary.

6. The German *inquilini*; hereditarily attached to the soil with the obligation of military service.

7. Development of the colonate.

a. Royal cultivators and workmen in oil monopoly in Ptolemaic Egypt (*Hel. Civ.* nos. 186, 197); peasants of Seleucid empire bought and sold with estates (*Hel. Civ.* nos. 175–8); forced labor for state.

b. Rome retains local customs; severer than the Ptolemies in fiscal exploitation of land and labor; limitation of laborers to their *origo*.

c. Extension of Oriental conditions over the empire; free tenants gradually sink into serfdom.

Zulueta, F. de, 'De patrociniis vicorum,' in *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History*, I (1909). pt. ii, English though with a Latin title, important; Rostowzew, M., 'Geschichte der Staatspacht in der römischen Kaiserzeit,' in *Philologus*,

Supplementband, IX (1902). 321-515; 'Studien zur Geschichte der römischen Kolonates,' in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, Beiheft I (1910).

8. The rural slaves elevated to the condition of serfs.

IV. Psychological causes of decline.

1. Introductory; historical place of the decline of the Roman empire. Account should here be taken of two great cultural periods of history. *First*, the Oriental period — Egyptian, Babylonian, Cretan; (a) creation of the essential elements of civilization over and above those of the stone age, culminating in Crete, circa 2200-1600 B.C.; (b) general causes of decline: narrowness of area; excessive centralization; exploitation of the masses for the benefit of the few; excessive conservatism, loss of ideals and of originality. *Second*, the Græco-Roman period, in which the essential factor is Hellenism, circa 1000 B.C.-600 A.D. Relatively rapid growth. Similar causes of decline: —

2. Excessive centralization: the bureaucracy; taxation; crystallization of society in caste-like classes; serfdom of the masses for the benefit of the few.

3. Prevalence of urban life; unsanitary conditions; diminishing vitality; artificiality of life discourages intellectual independence.

4. Decline in mentality before Augustus.

a. Introductory; the Greek city-state system a powerful organization for stimulating mentality (*cf.* the Italian cities of the Renaissance); reaches its height in the fifth century B.C. — architecture, sculpture, the drama (products of imagination controlled by reason), pre-Socratic and Socratic philosophy; beginnings of science.

b. Fourth century: decline of the city-state and of the creative intelligence; growth of reason; individualization of society; declining ideals and the commercialization of motives.

c. Third century; scientific discoveries and useful inventions.

d. Second and first centuries B.C.; continuation of the scientific spirit in Polybius, but general tendency to decline, due in part to —

1. Prevalence of slavery; contempt for labor; lack of motive for invention of labor-saving machinery, or for scientific instruments.

2. Absorption of interest in the great problems of philosophy natural to an early stage of scientific thought, hence neglect of details.

3. Limited object of Greek life: happiness in moderate living, avoiding the accumulation of wealth for its own sake; restraint of public opinion; hence lack of motive for creation of money-making devices; prevalence of the æsthetic over the scientific sense; domination of form over matter; subordination of literature (including history) to rhetoric, of philosophy to ethics; concentration of the mind on problems of life, conduct, and religion; the consequent growth of mysticism.

4. The riot of rationalism, destroying the foundations of science as well as of religion.

5. The Roman conquest (see § 6. *c-f* below).

5. Decline of mentality during the empire.

a. Lack of improvement in military science, helping account for the success of the barbarians.

b. Lack of progress in agriculture, in the useful and fine arts; in science and literature; disuse of labor-saving inventions, such as the application of water-power.

The fundamental causes continued from the earlier period; a contributory cause is —

6. "The extermination of the best" (Seeck).

a. Luxury not a powerful cause.

b. Extermination through factional strife: (1) in the Greek states, (2) in Rome from the time of the Gracchi.

c. Through conquests: (1) destruction of the best blood of Italy; (2) slaughter of the best inhabitants of the subjected states.

d. Governmental repression in the provinces: the crushing of national or racial spirit and of individual independence; prohibition of associations.

e. The brow-beating and cowing of the surviving populace of Rome and the empire through factional strife, civil war, proscriptions, conquest, and governmental repression, — resulting in loss of courage, independence, and initiative.

f. The benevolent paternalism of the emperors, still further discouraging initiative and rendering their subjects still more helpless.

g. The tendency to celibacy among the best-endowed pagans, Jews, and Christians — thus depriving the world of the children who would have inherited their character.

h. Persecution destroys the braver Christians, leaving the more cowardly to survive.

7. Diminishing knowledge; the epitomizing of old books; gradual loss of old books; the destruction of libraries; the consequent increase in the importance of opinion as opposed to fact, of mystery and superstition.

8. Lack of national competition.

a. No danger to Rome from outside till disintegration was far advanced; no stimulus from war, diplomacy, or trade — resulting in sluggishness.

b. Cultivation of the virtues of peace; governmental policy of preserving the weakest members of society; decline of the heroic, military virtues — consequent lowering of the average worth of the race.

V. Slavery.

1. Working slaves and luxury slaves and their respective origins.

2. Marriage and emancipation of luxury slaves and their results.

3. Degradation of labor; want of livelihood to the free.

4. Lack of a social substratum for recruiting the higher classes.

5. Gradual disappearance of slaves.

VI. Depopulation — economic and psychological causes.

1. Of the Greek World: Macedon under Philip V; of all Greece in the time of Polybius (xxxvii. 9) through the smallness of families; the cause is the high standard of living, love of comfort and luxury; exhaustion of the soil and of other natural resources.

2. Of Italy: (*a*) before the Gracchi; (*b*) in the time of Augustus. Here an added cause is the monopolization of land (*latifundia*) by the senators and knights; also the drain of war and emigration to the provinces.

3. Of the empire in general: (*a*) under Hadrian and the Antonines; (*b*) appalling condition of Greece; (*c*) Sardinia and Sicily; (*d*) Spain in the third and fourth centuries; (*e*) Africa and Egypt exceptional. Under the hard economic conditions the families become fewer and smaller; the killing of children and suicide become alarmingly prevalent.

4. The depopulation itself serves as a cause of pessimism and inaction.

VII. The primitive Germans.

Tacitus, *Germania*; Gibbon, *Decline*, ch. ix; Seeck, I. 191 ff.

1. Their inhospitable country and rigorous climate.

2. Economy: little agriculture; wild vegetable products; fishing, hunting, and grazing; scarcity of metals; making of ornaments and weapons, and weaving.

3. Intelligence and religion: little arithmetic, alphabet used for magic; gods, priests and priestesses; human sacrifices.

4. Society, state, and warfare: isolated families and villages; family customs and virtues; the kin and the blood-feud; the tribal state — want of local attachment and patriotism; private warfare; predatory character of the state; its fluidity; assembly of warriors; council of principes; warleader.

VIII. Progress of the Germans in civilization.

1. Due to (*a*) increase in population forcing them to agriculture, (*b*) Roman influence, chiefly along the border.

2. Growth of peace, commerce, and industry; improved clothing and arms.

3. Growth of intelligence; the Gallic druids; tendency to theocracy.

4. Growth of a judicial system; local judges elected by the assembly.

5. Growth of kingship and tendency to centralization; the king's limitations; lack of primogeniture.

6. Growth of slavery and serfdom: few slaves primitively; increase due to agricultural progress; sources of supply; the origin and status of serfs (*læti*).

IX. Admission of the Germans to the empire in the first three centuries A.D.

1. Under Augustus and Nero; more extensive from the time of M. Aurelius; a fatal necessity.

2. Status of German colonists: the *inquilini* (*læti*); reciprocal assimilation, physical and cultural; temporary arrest of the depopulation.

X. Invasions and Settlements of the barbarians: the Goths, Sueves, Vandals, Burgundians, Franks, and Lombards — their general movements and places of final settlement.

Botsford, *Rome*, 297–325; *Ancient World*, 527–34, 544–6; Robinson, *Western Europe*, ch. iii; *Cambridge Mediæval*

History, I (see Contents); Gibbon, *Decline* (see Contents); Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, 8 vols.

XI. Roman society in the fourth and fifth centuries.

1. The pagan aristocracy.

Dill, S., *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*, bk. I. ch. i.

2. The vitality of the later paganism.

a. The Oriental cults, especially Mithraism.

b. Neoplatonism: its origin, exponents, and character.

Bury, J. B., *Later Roman Empire*, I. ch. i.

Dill, bk. I. ch. iv.

Camb. Med. Hist. I. 88-94, 105-117, 568-580.

3. Manners and morals.

Bury I. 197-212.

a. Criticisms upon —, by (1) Ammianus Marcellinus (see Glover, *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century*, ch. ii and the *History* by Ammianus); (2) by St. Jerome (works in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2d ser. vol. VI); (3) by Salvianus (Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, I. pt. ii. 918-33).

Dill, bk. II. ch. i.

b. As represented by Symmachus.

Dill, bk. II. ch. ii.

Glover, ch. viii.

c. As represented by Ausonius.

Dill, bk. II. ch. iii.

Glover, ch. v.

d. As represented by St. Augustine.

Glover, ch. v.

St. Augustine, *Confessions*.

4. Education and culture.

Camb. Med. Hist. I. 542-50.

Dill, bk. V. Bury, I. 310-30.

Cole, R. R., *Later Roman Education in Ausonius*.

XII. Relations between the Germans and the Romans within the empire.

Camb. Med. Hist. I. chs. ix–xv (occasional treatment).

Dill, bk. IV.

Fustel de Coulanges, *L'invasion germanique et la fin de l'empire*, 521 ff.; Brunner, H., *Grundzüge der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, I.

1. Changes in the system of supporting the army; breaking down of taxation in kind; billeting of soldiers on the inhabitants; distribution of officers and military groups.

2. Obligations and rights of landowners; governmental supervision.

3. The "armies" of barbarians disposed of in like manner; legal relations with the inhabitants; social relations; the picture drawn by Sidonius; cases of depredation and violence by the barbarians, of protection from enemies.

4. The estate of a Roman noble.

5. Condition of the Roman masses: they remain on a level with the invaders; retain their liberty and generally their land.

6. Prevalence of the Latin language; ultimate triumph of Roman law.

7. Intermarriages: the blending of races; dominance of the southern physical type.

XIII. Justinian.

Oman, Ch., *The Dark Ages*, chs. v, vi (sketch).

Bury, bk. IV. (in vols. I, II).

Holmes, W. J., *Age of Justinian and Theodora*, 2 vols.

Gibbon, chs. xl–xliv.

1. Conquests and administration: social conditions.

2. The development of Roman law; the codification; the Civil Law in modern Europe and America.

READING ON THE DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE

Botsford, *Anc. W.*, ch. xliii (summary of causes); *Source-Book* (some aspects); Westermann, W. L., 'Economic Basis of the Decline of Ancient Culture,' in *Am. Hist. Rev.* XX (1915). 723-43; Dill, S., *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*, bks. III, IV; Reid, *Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, ch. xiv; Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung im römischen Kaiserreiche*, 476 ff.; Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, II. 545-634; Duruy, *Rome*, ch. xcv. § 4 and vol. VIII. 364 ff.; Mahaffy, *Silver Age of the Greek World*, ch. i; Beloch, 'Der Verfall der antiken Kultur,' in *Hist. Zeitschr.* LXXXIV (1900). 1-38; Seeck, O., *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, especially I. 191-428; II. 3-336 (most valuable treatment of subject); Hartmann, L. M., *Der Untergang der antiken Welt* (2d ed., Leipzig, 1910); Rostowzew, M., 'Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Kolonates,' in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, Beiheft I (Teubner, 1910), epoch-making for the colonate; Stöckle, A., 'Spätrömische und byzantinische Zünfte,' in *Klio*, Beiheft IX; Weber, M., *Römische Agrargeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1891); 'Agrargeschichte,' in *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*.

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